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Jared Sparks

with the author's best regards

Oct 21/56

MANUAL

OF

UNITED STATES HISTORY.

FROM 1492 TO 1850.

BY SAMUEL ELIOT,

AUTHOR OF A HISTORY OF LIBERTY, AND PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND LITERATURE IN TRINITY COLLEGE.

BOSTON:
HICKLING, SWAN, AND BROWN.
1856.

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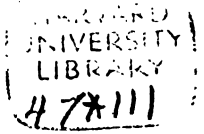

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PREFACE.

I HAVE written this book to supply a want felt by others, as well as by myself. We have looked in vain for a work, of moderate extent, in which the leading principles and the leading facts of our history are set forth side by side. To provide such a volume for the reader and the student is the object of the following Manual.

In writing it, I have endeavored to observe the proper proportions. The same space is not given to every period or to every transaction. On the contrary, events are narrated at greater or less length according to their importance — a few days occupying as many pages in some parts of the volume as a long series of years in others. By thus making inferior matters subordinate, I trust that I have done more justice than might be anticipated from the appearance of the book to the great passages in our history. It is nowhere, however, a book of details. I have confined myself intentionally to outlines — endeavoring to sketch these in such a way as to suggest com-

prehensive conceptions of the whole, rather than complete views of any single part.

In the last division of the work, I have entered upon dangerous ground. Party feelings are still active in relation to many of the movements and many of the men described in my later chapters. It is vain to hope that the views which I have taken will be every where acceptable. But I can conscientiously say that I have written of the latest, as of the earliest occurrences, without a sensation of partisanship, or of devotion to any cause less universal than the cause of truth.

The character of the publication not admitting frequent notes or large citations, it is right for me to state that, while I have principally relied upon original authorities, I have also followed later writers to a considerable degree. To some works — Irving's Columbus, O'Callaghan's and Brodhead's Histories of New York under the Dutch, Sparks's Appendixes to the Writings of Washington, Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, Duyckinck's Cyclopædia of American Literature, and Hildreth's History of the United States — I am under obligations which duty and inclination alike compel me to acknowledge.

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PART I.

OCCUPATION.

1492–1638.

CHAPTER I.

EUROPE BEFORE 1492.

Europe.

THE history of the United States begins in Europe. There the movements, there the men arose, appointed to prepare the way for a new nation on the earth.

Activity there.

If we look over the century, or the half century, preceding 1492 in Europe, we are struck by the numerous signs of change and of growth. Many countries, it is true, appear to be unmoved; perhaps the few alone seem to be really sharing in the activity of the period. But the activity is all the more remarkable in being confined to a portion only of the European races. It both seems and is a strange thing that three or four nations, not closely united with one another or amongst themselves, should all at once put forth their energies, and lift the world, as it were, into a wider and a loftier sphere.

Material movement.

The great material movement of the age was in maritime discovery. An instinct to search over unknown seas for unknown shores led to many an adventure and many an acquisition. No people was more distinguished in these enterprises than the Portuguese, whose navigators made their way to the Madeiras (1418–20) and the Azores (1432–57) on the west, then on the south, along the African coast, to and beyond the Cape of Good Hope, (1486–97.) The chief prize at which the adventurers were aiming lay in the East, amongst the lands

embraced under the common name of the Indies. But a golden hue of wealth and of fame was spread over all the seas and all the shores within the reach of the Europeans.

Intellectual movement.

There was also a great intellectual movement. The invention of printing, (1440–50), followed by the revival of ancient learning, awakened the scholar from a long-enduring trance. He found more to learn, more to teach, and above all, a larger circle by whom his studies would be encouraged and his teachings received. The poet and the artist imbibed fresh inspiration from the increasing culture of the times; whatever was the vocation of the mind, it was at once enlarged and ennobled. If this were the proper place to cite examples, we should turn to Italy, whose scholarship, whose poetry, and whose art never shone out together with greater lustre than during the fifteenth century. The glow spread to other nations in their turn.

Moral movement.

The great moral movement of the period was the most wonderful of all. For ages, the spirit of man seemed to have ceased to act, except in the narrow and darksome limits prescribed by authority. Here and there an individual had appeared to plead for the freedom and the faith of the Christian, but never with permanent success, often with immediate failure. At the later time of which we speak, there was a spiritual restlessness, too general and too strong to be repressed. Men tore the bandages from their eyes; they shook the shackles from their arms; and though long submission had rendered them incapable of effective exertion, they did not exert themselves in vain. At the end of the century, a reformer appeared in Italy, close to the centre of Christendom at Rome, in the person of the friar Savonarola, (1452–98,) whose rebukes of corruption and of oppression were forerunners of the greater reformation that was to come.

General elevation.

If there is any single impression to be derived from movements so various, it is that of the elevation of classes hitherto feeble and degraded. The voyagers, the students, and above all, the earnest believers of the period, sprang, in many cases, from what were called the lower orders; and back upon the same orders, in all cases, descended more or less of the benefits resulting from the deeds that were achieved. But we are not to suppose that human nature was changed, or that the improvement in men, in their character or their condition, was instantaneous. The work now going on had been begun, so far as its higher elements were concerned, ages and ages before. It would require ages and ages to come before it could be in any degree completed.

Monarchy in Europe.

Another movement of the times was more limited in its relations and its effects. This was the rising of the modern monarchies from out the strife, direct and indirect, in which they had long been engaged with the Papal authority. The monarchical power, at first nothing more than the substitution of one oppressive dominion in the place of another, or in the place of another combined with itself, of course affected its possessors rather than its subjects. But as the preparatory process by which more liberal constitutions might be ultimately reared, the independence of the European monarchies was the great political revolution of the period. Prominent amongst the individual figures of sovereigns were Louis the Eleventh of France, (1461–83,) Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, (1479–1506,) and Henry the Seventh of England, (1485–1509.)

Discovery of America.

Amid these changing systems, these varying efforts, the middle ages passed away, and the modern ages began. If there is any occurrence to stand as the first upon the newly-opened rolls, it is that

which came in season at once to profit by the time and to quicken its advance. Had the event taken place before, or long before, it would have been lost in the silence and the stagnation that had prevailed; had it not taken place when it did, or soon after, many of the desires to which men were freshly stirred, many of the resources with which they were freshly provided might have failed for want of object and of development. The event of so much significance was the discovery of America in 1492.

CHAPTER II.

COLUMBUS.

Early life.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS * was born in Genoa, about the year 1435. Following the sea from the age of fourteen, he was attracted, some twenty years afterwards, to Lisbon, then the centre of maritime enterprise. There Columbus married the daughter of an Italian navigator in the service of Portugal; there he renewed the studies and the experiences of earlier manhood; there, after a residence in one of the Madeira Islands, far out in the Atlantic, he made known his project of crossing the entire ocean. He was then close upon the age of forty, (1474.)

Project of discovery.

Both reflection and tradition suggested the possibility of reaching the farther East across the western seas. A report among the northern nations told of voyages from Iceland to Greenland, and thence to Vinland, the Land of the Vine, where settlements had been made, but abandoned. Still more familiar were the travellers' tales of Marco Polo, the Venetian, (1295,)† and of Sir John Mandeville, the Englishman, (1364,)† who painted in glowing colors the provinces and the islands, the cities and the palaces of the Grand Khan of Tartary upon the eastern shores of Asia. It was to seek these realms, with the

* In Italian, *Colombo;* in Spanish, *Colon.*

† Dates of their return.

magnificence of which all Europe had long been ringing, that Columbus proposed to sail westward. But, however supported by rumor or by argument, his plans met with no encouragement. Their rejection by the Portuguese court (1484) threw him back upon his native Genoa, then upon other states, and finally upon Spain. Eighteen years in all of rebuff and of hostility had been endured, when Isabella of Castile yielded to the earnestness and lofty visions of the Italian, already an elderly man, (April 17, 1492.)

His motives. The mere fact of his age prevents our ascribing selfish or covetous motives to Columbus. Doubtless he had his schemes of achieving fame and fortune, as well for himself as for the sovereigns by whom he was sustained. The compact with Ferdinand and Isabella provided that Columbus should bear and bequeath to his heirs the titles of Admiral and Viceroy of all the lands discovered by him, together with the right to one tenth of the revenues expected from the same. But there were higher ends to which he more ardently aspired. The journal of his voyage begins with reminding Ferdinand and Isabella, to whom it is addressed, of their determination to send him to "the lands of India," and to "a prince who is called the Grand Khan," "to see the said prince and the people and lands, and discover the nature and disposition of them, and the means to be taken for the conversion of them to our holy faith." * He elsewhere repeats an assurance that he had made in presence of the sovereigns: "Whatever I gain from this enterprise of mine shall be expended in the conquest of Jerusalem." The conversion of the unbelievers, succeeded by the rescue of the holy sepulchre from the hands of those still unconverted, fill in the background of the design which Columbus had conceived, the foreground

* Mr. Irving's translation in his Life of Columbus, Book III. Chap. I.

alone being occupied by the land to which he was pointing the way.

Voyage of discovery.

In this spirit Columbus set sail from Palos, with three small vessels and with one hundred and twenty companions, at dawn on Friday, August 3, 1492. Ten weeks afterwards, at dawn on Friday, October 12, he reached the shores of an island, of which, as soon as he could disembark in solemn state, he took possession with prayers and thanksgivings, under the name of San Salvador, or Holy Saviour. For nearly three months he cruised amongst the Bahamas and the larger islands to the south-west, one of which, Cuba, he supposed to be the continent of Asia, while another, Hispaniola, was taken to be an island of great beauty and wealth described by Oriental voyagers as lying off the Asiatic coast. Leaving a garrison on the latter island, and taking a few natives in his train, Columbus retraced his course, arriving off the Tagus on the 4th, and at Palos on the 15th of March, 1493. He had found, as he thought, nothing more than he had proposed, and the name of *West Indies* was therefore given to his discoveries.

The West the possession of Spain.

Although thus regarded as a part of the earth already visited by Europeans, the West Indies were more than sufficient to satisfy the discoverer and his sovereigns. So favorable were his accounts of the route across the sea, and of the treasures to which it led, in the form of precious metals, jewels, and spices, as well as of beautiful and boundless lands, that all Spain was stirred with wonder and exultation. The first thought with the rulers was to make sure of their acquisitions, the more so as Portugal was known to have an eye upon discoveries in the same direction. Accordingly the Spanish sovereigns had recourse to the Pope of Rome, who had previously confirmed the claim of the Portuguese to the countries on

and beyond the African coast. A Papal bull was issued, declaring Portugal possessed only of what might be discovered on the east of a line "from the north to the south pole, a hundred leagues to the west of the Azores," while all to the west of the line was secured to the Spaniards. In the following year (1494) the Portuguese acquiesced in a division according to a line drawn, not one hundred, but three hundred and seventy, leagues to the west of the Azores, or Cape Verd Islands. Yet this did not prevent them from pushing their discoveries northward and southward within the limits of the Spaniards. Still less did the award of Rome affect the enterprise of other nations, as will be seen hereafter.

Other voyages of Columbus.

The Spaniards, however, were long the most active in exploring and in occupying their Indies. Not to speak of many other expeditions, in which all sorts of men took part, three more were conducted by Columbus himself. On his second voyage (1493–96) he founded the first town, and engaged in the first war in which Europeans were concerned on the western shores. The town, named Isabella, was in Hispaniola; the war was waged with the natives of the same island. It was at the end of this voyage that the first slaves from America were taken to Europe. His third voyage (1498–1500) brought Columbus to the continent, which he supposed himself to have reached on the shore of Cuba, but which he did not see until near the Island of Trinidad, off the northern coast of South America, (1498.)* He soon became involved in the first serious dissensions amongst the Europeans in the Indies, and was sent home from Hispaniola in chains. It was not long after that the first negro slaves from Spain† were transported to

* The Cabots reached the continent in 1497. See Chapter V.

† The first from Africa did not go before 1511.

the Spanish colonies, (1502,) but not by Columbus. He, liberated by the sovereigns, made his fourth and last voyage, (1502–4,) during which he attempted the first colony upon the continent near the River Belen, on the Isthmus of Panama. He had met with far more numerous failures than successes, when he returned to Spain after an almost uninterrupted service of thirteen years. Others, following in his steps, had met with greater rewards than he; but the dreams of the voyagers and of their countrymen were still to be fulfilled.

His spirit. Infirm and injured as he was and as he had been, Columbus never lost heart. Even when just set free from his fetters, at the end of his third voyage, he had written to the Spanish sovereigns and to the Roman pontiff of his unshaken determination to extend the Christian faith and to recover the sepulchre at Jerusalem. The same objects were commended in his will to his posterity. Indeed, it seems as if he clung to his religious purposes the more earnestly as his worldly projects failed. A few months passed after his final return, and the aged discoverer sank to rest, seventy years old, (May 20, 1506.)

Name of America. His spirit, so free from irresolution and from worldly pride, has descended in part, it is to be hoped, upon the lands to which he led the way. But they bear another name. Amerigo Vespucci, a native of Florence, but a resident in Spain at the time of Columbus's discovery, subsequently sailed to the west in the service of Spain, and then of Portugal. His descriptions of the continent which he reached, and which he portrayed as possessing all the attributes of a newly-discovered one, induced a German geographer to coin the name of America about the time that Columbus died, (1507.)

A new world. Vespucci was far from conceiving or conveying the truth concerning America. Voyages in the

north, to which we shall revert, had already (1497–98) begun to reveal the real character of the new shores. But it was some years before Cuba was found to be merely an island, (1508,) and it was still longer before the Pacific was reached across the isthmus in the centre, (1513,) and through the straits on the south of the continent, (1520.) Slowly and wonderingly it was learned that Columbus had discovered a new world.

CHAPTER III.

Spanish Settlements.

Spanish adventures.

From almost every point hitherto gained in America, as well as from the shores of Spain, adventures, some great, some small, some national, some individual, were urged by the Spaniards in all directions. The West Indies, at first the whole, soon became the mere centre of the Spanish possessions.

Ponce de Leon in Florida.

The first to reach the territory of the present United States was Ponce de Leon, a companion of Columbus. Long visited by dreams of riches, and latterly, in his advancing age, excited by rumors of a fountain in which youth might be renewed, Ponce set sail from Porto Rico in search of the treasures in the north. On Easter Sunday, — in the Spanish calendar *Pascua Florida*, — he descried a land to which, in his mingled visions of resurrection and of abundance, he gave the name of *Florida* or Flower-land, (1512.) Nine years later, with a commission from the Spanish crown, as governor of Florida, Ponce returned to conquer and to colonize his discovery. But driven off by the natives of the coast, the old adventurer left Florida to return no more, (1521.)

Various expeditions.

A series of expeditions had already begun to scour the Atlantic coast. The Portuguese Cortereal had led the way, twenty years before, in a cruise towards the north, (1501.) A line of Spanish adventurers, intent upon treasure and conquest, succeeded.

Vasquez de Ayllon twice made descents upon Chicora, the later Carolina, (1520–24.) Gomez sailed farther to the north in quest of a western passage to richer lands, (1525.) Pamphilo de Narvaez tried his fortune in Florida, (1528,) whither also De Soto directed his greater expedition, and pursued his wanderings northward and westward (1539–43) with no greater reward than the discovery of the Mississippi, (1541.) At the same time, Vasquez Coronado was penetrating from Mexico high up into the interior, (1540–42,) while De Cabrillo (1542) was coasting the Pacific shore, and, though dying on the voyage, leaving his pilot, Ferrelo, to ascend as far as Oregon, (1543.) Of these western explorations there were few if any results to satisfy the explorers. Nor were the adventurers in the east better contented; the only ones to gain any thing being those who laded their ships with slaves. The natives had been pressed into bondage almost from the moment when they were first seen in the West Indies.

Luis de Cancello.

A figure of more Christian aspect appears in Luis de Cancello, a Dominican friar. Obtaining an order from Spain that all the slaves from the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico should be returned, he set sail with such as he could collect. Instead of proposing to conquer the natives, he went with the hope of converting them to a religion of peace. But in his first interview with them on the coast, he and two priests accompanying him were slain, (1549.)

Melendez.

Nearly twenty years elapsed, and our soil was still unoccupied by the Spaniards. At length a veteran commander, Melendez de Avilez, engaged to complete the conquest and to commence the colonization of Florida, with a train of soldiers, priests, and negro slaves. He was of a stern temper, without a vision of romance or a touch of sensibility to turn him from the severe enterprise

which he had assumed. He began with the foundation of St. Augustine, (September 8, 1565,) the oldest town in the United States. Then he routed and slew some French settlers who had lately encamped upon the ground claimed by Spain,* and whose destruction had been one of the great incentives to his expedition. Where they fell most thickly, the conqueror marked out the site of a Christian church. The colony thus resolutely founded brought none of the rich returns that had been looked for; but it was not abandoned.

De Espejio and Vizcaino.

Fifteen years afterwards, the expeditions from Mexico were renewed by Ruiz (1580) and De Espejio, (1581,) the latter of whom, followed by soldiers and Indians, marched northward, until he named the country New Mexico, and founded the settlement of Santa Fe, the second town of the United States in point of age. Twenty years later, (1602,) a squadron under Sebastiano Vizcaino explored the Californian shore, bestowing upon its headlands and its bays many of the names which they still bear. It was Vizcaino's hope to colonize the coast, but he died in the midst of his schemes, (1608.)

Motives.

The motives of the Spanish settler, as we perceive, were partly of a high and partly of a low nature. Devoted to great aims and to generous deeds, he encountered, as Luis de Cancello did in Florida, the perils of an unknown shore, in order to impart to others the faith in which he lived and for which he was willing to die. But in another aspect the Spanish character grows dark and threatening. Men, like the greater part of those who have been mentioned, sought our land for gold or for dominion; sometimes, indeed, with a national object, but more generally for merely selfish ends. Motives of this sort led to scenes of cruelty and of carnage, on which it is, fortunately, unnecessary to dwell.

* See the next chapter.

Institutions.

The institutions of Spain were those of an absolute monarchy. They lent but little aid to the development of the better elements in the national character. Indeed, they rather encouraged the opposite elements, both before and after the colonies of the nation were founded. A military rule was the only political institution of Florida. It was in the hands of a few officials, whose authority was kept up at the sacrifice of the general progress of the settlements. A rigid system of trade, upholding a monopoly in favor of the government, or of the capitalists dependent on the government at home, increased the obstacles with which the colony had to contend.

Circumstances.

Coming with these motives and under these institutions, the Spaniards found themselves in circumstances of similar tendency. Choosing the south for their first, and, as it proved, their only settlements, from its promising the richest harvest, they met the influences springing from the air above them and from the earth beneath them. The habits of indulgence and of repose which ensued were any thing but favorable to character or to prosperity.

Extent of Spanish claims.

Few and far between were the Spanish settlements. But the Spanish claims were universal. In the first place, there was the papal bull of 1493, conveying a right to all America. In the next place, there were the successive discoverers from Ponce de Leon to Vizcaino, whose labors had won the continent anew. The name of Florida was stretched from the Gulf of Mexico to the Gulf of St. Lawrence; that of New Mexico was made equally extensive in the interior and on the west. Could names, and deeds, and papal bulls have sufficed to support the Spanish claim, it would have prevailed throughout the United States.

CHAPTER IV.

French Settlements.

New France.

The approaches of France to our country were made, first by fishermen, (1504,) and then by navigators. A Florentine, Verrazzani, in the French service, sailing along the coast from Florida to Newfoundland, was not deterred by any previous discoveries from giving to the continent the name of *New France*, (1524.) Ten years after, the Frenchman Cartier renewed the name in voyages in and about the Gulf of St. Lawrence, (1534–42.)

Carolina. Fate of its Huguenots.

Nothing, however, was done in a persevering way to fix the name upon the territory, until Admiral De Coligny conceived the idea of a colony to which his brother Protestants, the Huguenots, might repair for refuge against persecution in France. After failing to make a settlement in South America, De Coligny despatched a party to the northern coast, where a fort, named Carolina in honor of the French king, Charles, was erected near Port Royal in the present South Carolina, (1562.) This settlement likewise falling through, another was made upon the St. John's in Florida, where a second Fort Carolina was reared, (1564.) The mutinous dispositions of the colonists had already begun to threaten the existence of the settlement, when it was annihilated by the Spanish force under Melendez de Avilez, (1565.) Such of the French as did not escape or fall in battle were put

to death by the Spaniard and the Catholic, "not as Frenchmen," he is said to have declared, "but as Lutherans." Such was the unhappy fate of the first fugitives from the old world to the new. Objects at once of religious and of national animosity, they were pursued by enemies enlisted against them as on a crusade. The passions of Europe obtained fresh space in America; the feeble fell, the strong triumphed as they had done in older lands.

Expedition to avenge them.

But there was something inspiring, after all, in the associations of the western shore. If the fugitives thither were murdered by their foes, they were not forgotten by their friends. Three years after their victory, the Spaniards were surprised on the same ground by a French expedition under De Gourgues, a soldier of Gascony, who had sold his estate in order to avenge his fallen countrymen. He took the Spanish forts, and hung his prisoners, with the inscription above them, "Not as Spaniards or Mariners, but as Traitors, Robbers, and Assassins." Thus was our soil a second time darkened with the slaughter of strangers. Without waiting an attack from the Spaniards at St. Augustine, De Gourgues sailed home, the last of the French to attempt the possession of Florida or of Carolina, (1568.)

Acadie and Maine. De Monts and De Saussaye.

A long period elapsed before the French reappeared, except as fishermen or as traders, in any part of America. At length, a grant of all the territory from Pennsylvania to New Brunswick, under the name of Acadie, was made by Henry IV. of France to the Sieur de Monts, (1603,) one of whose officers, Poutrincourt, made the first permanent settlement of Frenchmen in America at Port Royal, (1604,) since Annapolis. A plan of De Monts to make a settlement upon Cape Cod, though twice attempted, was given up on account of the hostility of the natives, (1605–06.) Some

years afterwards, one or two Jesuit missionaries crossed over from that part of Acadie which was occupied, to a part as yet unoccupied, within the limits of the present Maine, (1612.) They were followed the next year, by De Saussaye, the agent of Madame de Guercheville to whom the earlier grant to De Monts was now reconveyed; the limits being extended so far as to reach from Florida to the St. Lawrence. De Saussaye, accompanied by a few Jesuits, began the colony of St. Sauveur upon Mount Desert Island, off the coast of Maine, (1613.) It was hardly begun, however, before it was broken up by an attack from an English armed vessel belonging to the then rising colony of Virginia.

Canada. Champlain.

Meantime the banners of France had been carried up the St. Lawrence. Champlain, the greatest leader whom the French had as yet followed to the west, laid the foundations of Quebec in the heart of the province of Canada, (1608.) The next year, forming an alliance with the Algonquins, then at war with the Iroquois or Five Nations of New York, he marched southward to the lake which bears his name, (1609.) Six years later, he took the lead in another foray which penetrated the forests on the southern shore of Lake Ontario, (1615.) A new way appeared to be open to French settlements in the United States.

Collisions with the English.

But nothing followed. The English arms, after an interval of several years, were carried against the northern settlements of the French. Acadie, already made the subject of an English grant, and Canada were conquered, but restored, (1628–32.) Then the French came down in their turn, and drove the English from the trading posts established by the Plymouth colony on the Maine coast, (1631–35.) The attempts to repel them were in vain; on the contrary, they forbade the English to

pass Pemaquid, a point midway between the Kennebec and the Penobscot. The interior was at the same time in the occupation of the French priests, if of any Europeans.

Priests and missionaries.

The priests and the missionaries of France were the most prominent amongst her settlers. They came full of adventure as of faith, hesitating at no danger, shrinking from no sacrifice. That there should be some less worthy amongst the number was a matter of course. It was equally natural that, among the most worthy, there should be many to magnify their work, to count their converts too freely, and to oppose their antagonists too fiercely. But taken all in all, the French missionaries have hardly received the place that they deserve in our history. What they were and what they did will appear more clearly at a later period.

Other settlers.

With the priest came the soldier, the explorer, and the trader, all animated by the love of enterprise, to say nothing of its rewards in fame or in riches. They form a less sinister group than the Spanish settlers, more supple, more gay, though by no means more gallant or more adventurous.

Institutions.

Much of the difference may be ascribed to the influence of the French institutions. These, at the time in question, were the institutions of a comparatively limited monarchy. If there were arbitrary influences in the government, sufficient, as we shall hereafter observe, to oppress its subjects and its colonies, there was also something of a more generous nature, by which the devotedness of the missionary, the bravery of the soldier, and the zeal of the adventurer were sustained.

Circumstances.

The circumstances in which the French settlers were placed tended to confirm all their enterprise and all their fortitude. Abandoning the southern Carolina and drawing in the limits of Acadie on the south, they were

for a long time concentrated upon northern shores and in northern valleys. In these lands, adventure was not to be pursued, nor was sustenance to be obtained, without energy and hardihood.

Extent of French claims.

In following the French into Acadie and Canada, we have gone far beyond the limits of the United States. But their Acadie embraced our Maine, or a large portion of it; their Canada comprehended our Vermont and our New York, or large portions of them; not to speak of the western regions afterwards included in the same province. We shall return to the French at the epoch of their later acquisitions. For the present, we leave the name of New France, bestowed by Verrazzani and Cartier in their voyages, and confirmed by Poutrincourt, Champlain, and De Saussaye, in their settlements, extending in immense proportions along the seaboard and in the interior. It was a title to be set against the Florida and the New Mexico of Spain.

CHAPTER V.

English Settlements.

Section I. — *Early Movements.* 1492 *to* 1606.

England and Columbus.

The English were first connected with America through Columbus. When his plans of discovery were declined by the Portuguese court, he sent his brother Bartholomew to make the same offers to Henry VII. of England, (1484.) Bartholomew, long upon his way and upon his return, was bringing back some favorable proposals from the English king just as Christopher was returning from his first voyage, (1493.) It was too late for England to obtain the services of Columbus.

Voyages of the Cabots.

But it was just in time for England to profit by his discoveries. Both the king and his subjects, at least those of his subjects who were interested in navigation, seem to have caught the impulse naturally springing from such an enterprise as had been achieved. Within three years from the first return of Columbus, Henry authorized a Venetian then belonging to Bristol, John Cabot, with his three sons, to start an expedition at their own expense, in order to do whatever they could for themselves, and at the same time to set up the banners of the English monarch, as his vassals and deputies, upon the lands supposed to exist northward of those discovered by Columbus, (1496.) The Cabots, setting sail in the following year, (1497,) reached a shore called by them *Prima*

Vista, the First View, since known by the name of Labrador. It was more than a year before the continent was gained by Columbus. Another voyage, made a year later (1498) by Sebastian Cabot, the second son of John, and a native of England, was directed along the coast of the new continent from the latitude of Labrador to that of the Chesapeake.

Interval. Gilbert and Drake.

So successful a beginning augured great ends. But there ensued a long interval, in which none but isolated and remote adventures towards the west were undertaken in England. The fisheries of the north were for many years the only objects of attraction in the direction of America. Then the opening of hostilities, at first rather of a private or piratical than of a national character, against Spain,* drew the English towards the southern regions. But the central territories, those of the present United States, were long unvisited except for some passing purpose. More than three quarters of a century had elapsed since the coasting voyage of Sebastian Cabot, and both the Spaniards and the French had several times seized upon the shores discovered by the English navigators, when a new permission to possess and settle the western lands was given by Queen Elizabeth to one of her noblest subjects, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, (1578.) At the same period, while Sir Francis Drake, the half hero, half freebooter of the English navy, was on his voyage of adventure and plunder round the world, he gave the name of New Albion to the coasts of California and Oregon. Thus gaining a foothold on the western as well as on the eastern side of the continent, England was recalled, at a moment of general activity throughout the nation, to her interests in America.

* Beginning about 1570, though there was no formal war until 1585.

Raleigh. Sir Humphrey Gilbert perished in the course of a second attempt to reach his American possessions, (1583.) But his claims were immediately transferred to his half brother, Walter Raleigh, the courtier and the cavalier of the age in England, (1584.) A voyage of exploration was immediately made under his directions to the coast of our North Carolina, of which so flattering an account was returned to him and to his sovereign, that the name of Virginia, from the virgin Queen Elizabeth, was not thought too great for the new land.

Failures of his colonies. In the following year, (1585,) Sir Richard Grenville, one of the chief commanders of the time, left a colony of one hundred and eighty persons at Roanoke Island; but such were the hardships which they encountered, that they were only too well satisfied to be taken home by Sir Francis Drake a year afterwards. They had scarcely gone when Grenville returned with supplies for them, and he, unwilling to have the colony abandoned, left fifteen of his mariners to keep possession until they could be reënforced, (1586.) The little band was gone, murdered, it was believed, by the natives, when, in the next year, (1587,) a fresh party of one hundred and seventeen arrived. Soon after they came, the first English child to see the light in America was born. She was the daughter of Ananias Dare, and the granddaughter of John White, the leader of the expedition, who gave her the name of Virginia. But the presence of the infant brought no better fate to the colony than had befallen its predecessors. The one hundred and eighteen disappeared, and though sought for at various times, were never heard of more. Raleigh lost heart as well as means. He made over his patent to a number of persons, (1589,) who, with less enterprise than he, met with still less success. North

Carolina was but a waste as far as English settlements were concerned, and Virginia but a name.

Gosnold and others.

Many years passed before any further attempts were made to occupy the American coast. The cessation of hostilities with Spain* at length reopened the way to commercial and colonial enterprise. Bartholomew Gosnold, after landing on Cape Cod, sailed thence to Buzzard's Bay, where, on Elizabeth's Island, named after his queen, he commenced, but soon abandoned, a settlement, (1602.) The adjoining coasts were revisited the next year (1603) by Martin Pring, and again, the next year but one, (1605,) by George Weymouth, both, like Gosnold, commanders of distinction. The preparation for settlements was decidedly resumed.

Ill success of the English.

It was high time. The Spaniards had their St. Augustine and their Santa Fe, the French their Port Royal, though this was beyond the limits of our United States. But the English, the first to discover the coast, were still without a single foothold upon it. Wherever they had gained one, it had slipped from beneath them.

Section II. — *Companies.* 1606 *to* 1635.

Organized efforts.

Hitherto the efforts of the English in exploring and in settling the American shore had been those of individuals. No one, indeed, unless it were those who went on voyages for fishery or for trade, attempted his enterprise without the formal countenance of the sovereign. But there had been no organized efforts such as were now prepared.

* 1604. But it was some time since the war had been generally carried on.

Patent of Virginia. A year or two after James I. succeeded to the English throne, he issued the patent of Virginia. This was a twofold grant of the American territory from what is now North Carolina to what is now Maine. Of this vast tract, the southerly half* was appropriated to the First Colony, and the northerly † to the Second Colony, each colony to be founded and governed by a separate council, to which the grant was made. The council or company, as it is generally styled, of the First Colony went by the name of London, from the residence of its prominent members. For a similar reason, the name of Plymouth was given to the council or company of the Second Colony. The great point, however, is this, that the parties to the patent were not colonists, but capitalists, not adventurers, but speculators, who, in their respective corporations in England, not in America, were declared possessors of the best portion of the American territory. At the same time, the companies were invested with ample powers to settle "colonists and servants," to impose duties, and to coin money. Their obligations, in return, were to pay over to the crown a share of their profits,‡ and to support the laws and the church of England. To exercise some sort of supervision over so great corporations as these, a council for Virginia was instituted by the king, who, to complete his work, put forth a code of laws and regulations for the direction of the various bodies which he had created.

* From lat. 34° to lat. 38°, with a right, if first in the field, to make settlements as far north as 41°.

† From lat. 41° to lat. 45°, with a right, if first in the field, to make settlements as far south as 38°.

‡ One fifth of the gold and silver, and one fifteenth of the copper, that might be found.

THE LONDON COMPANY.

Members and colonists.

The moving spirit of the London Company appears to have been Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Bristol, afterwards of Westminster, who had been interested in American colonization from the time of Raleigh's expeditions. Around him were gathered many eminent and energetic men, among them Sir George Calvert, the future founder of Maryland, but none of greater promise, in relation to the work before them, than Bartholomew Gosnold, the settler of Elizabeth's Island, and John Smith, a hero in the east long before he turned his face westward. Gosnold and Smith were both amongst the first colonists.

Jamestown.

It was in midwinter, (December 19, 1606,) that an expedition, one hundred strong, set out from England. A feeble band as regarded their individual resources, they were strong in the company by which they were sent to stranger shores. The voyage was long, by the common route of the West Indies, but Virginia was reached at last. The spring (May 13, 1607) saw the beginning of the first English town in America. Its royal name of Jamestown is now a name alone.

New charters.

The company had hardly begun its work when it sought new powers. Three years after the patent, a second charter was framed, giving additional authority to the English company, and extending the American limits to the latitude of Philadelphia, (1609.) Three years later, (1612,) a third charter vested the powers of the company in a General Court of the members, and added the Bermuda Islands to their domains. If charters were all that the company needed in order to flourish, it bade fair to be great and enduring.

The fortunes of the colony were less promising. Some-

Fortunes of the colony.

times at peace, sometimes at war* with the natives, sometimes contented, sometimes despairing amongst themselves, the colonists went through great vicissitudes. One cause of feebleness is plain enough; it is the entire dependence of the colony upon the company and the company's representatives. Another cause of equal moment was the variety of rank and of character in the colony. The gentleman and the felon, the ardent seeker after adventure and the patient toiler for subsistence, the freeman, the apprentice, and the slave,† made up a community too mixed to possess any steadiness of growth. The three first years, (1607–9,) the colonists hung upon John Smith, who had become their president in the year following the settlement of Jamestown. It is curious to see how he led, rebuked, supported them; he, as the strong man, guiding them, as feeble children. One year, (1610,) the colony is all but abandoned; another, (1613,) it is strong enough to make the attack already mentioned upon the French settlements in the north. But the tendency to increase, though interrupted, continues, and not without support from the company in England.

Institutions.

The first step to raise the colonists from a state of mere vassalage was the grant of an estate to each settler, (1615.) The progress from the landholder to the freeman followed. The colony had been bound, as has been stated, to maintain the church of England. Its civil authorities consisted, first of the English crown and Parliament, then of the English council, then of the English company, by which, according to the various charters, the local officers were appointed. These were, in the beginning, a council, with a president; but in a year or two from the beginning, a governor and suite, at first with-

* The Indian wars are related in Part II. Chapter IV.

† A Dutch man of war brought the first negro slaves, in 1620.

out and afterwards with a council. At length, under the government of Sir George Yeardley, the freemen of the colony, representing eleven corporations or plantations, were called, as burgesses, to a General Assembly, to take the matter of taxes, besides other affairs of importance, into their own hands, (1619.) This was the system of the colonial constitution granted by the company two years afterwards, (1621.) In other words, the executive authority was in the hands of a governor, the judicial in those of a governor and a council, with an appeal to an Assembly, and the legislative in that of a governor, a council, and an Assembly, all subject to the company, which, of course, was subject to the laws and the authorities of England.

An infant colony.

We are apt to exaggerate the importance of the English settlements, in comparison with those of the French or the Spanish, or any other nation in our country. The truth is, that Virginia, like most of the settlements which we shall find in the north, was but an infant colony, unable to regulate its trade or its education, its habits of life or of thought, except in submission to external authorities. One or two examples, occurring under the company's jurisdiction, illustrate the dependence of the colony during the entire period of which we are now treating. A design of a college for native as well as English youth, started in England with large subscriptions, found no fulfilment in Virginia, (1619–21.) Even the want of wives was met, not by individual devotion, but by a company speculation; a large number of young women of good character being transported to be sold for a hundred and twenty, or even a hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco (at three shillings a pound) to the lonely settlers, (1620–21.)

Fall of the company.

Nothing, however, marks the utter dependence of the colony so plainly as its inactivity during the troubles in which the company became involved.

Dissensions amongst the members, and jealousies amongst those who were not members, led to the royal interference; the result being the fall of the company, with all its expenditures* heavy on its head, (1624.) The colony at this time numbered about two thousand, the relics of nine thousand who had been sent out. Yet for all the two thousand did to prove their existence or their independence, the colony might have been supposed to be the company's shadow, too unsubstantial to support or to oppose the power to which it owed its being.

Virginia a royal province.

Virginia became a royal province. The governor and the council received their appointment from the king, the freemen continuing to elect their Assembly. It was a national government, instead of a corporation system, and as such it seemed to relieve the Virginians. At any rate, they grew so much in spirit as to make a stand against the royal grant of what they considered their territory to the proprietor of Maryland. Their governor, John Harvey, not taking part with them as they wished, they deposed him, and sent him virtually a prisoner to England, (1635.) The king, of course, restored the governor, but without reducing the colony to silence or to retribution, (1636–37.) The spirit of dependence, however, lingered.

Growth of the colony.

But the principles of growth and of independence were at work. Among the earliest settlers were men of culture and of earnestness, men who, like Alexander Whitaker, "a scholar, a graduate, and a preacher," devoted themselves to the elevation of the colony. Among the earliest governors were Lord De la Ware, (1611,) and Sir George Yeardley, (1619–21,) both of strong character and of strong influence. Around such individuals as these there would naturally gather an in-

* From £100,000 to £150,000.

creasing number and a higher stamp of colonists. The interest of the mother country in the colony would naturally be extended when the dissolution of the company opened the way to general emigration and general enterprise. The development of Virginia seemed sure.

THE PLYMOUTH COMPANY.

Members. Among the members of the Plymouth Company were many personages of distinction. The lord chief justice of England, Sir John Popham, the governor of Plymouth, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and two Gilberts, kinsmen and successors of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh, all engaged in the enterprise. The higher the rank, however, of individual members in any association, the more likely, in most cases, are clashing pretensions and menacing divisions. The Plymouth Company never held together in such a way as to carry out any effective operations.

Colonization attempted. A few members made the first move by sending out a colony of forty-five persons, who encamped for one brief year upon an island at the mouth of the Kennebec, (1607–8.) Some time elapsed before any new expedition was undertaken. Nor would any, it is probable, have been undertaken then, but for the active agency of John Smith, who, four or five years after his return from Virginia, entered the service of the Plymouth Company. A careful voyage from the Penobscot to Cape Cod impressed him so favorably, that he gave the country the name of New England, obtaining for himself the title of its admiral, (1614.) But his persevering exertions to discharge his office and to colonize his chosen land were in vain; nor was any thing more attempted by the company until it was transformed by a new charter into the

Council of Plymouth for New England, with the right to all the territory from the latitude of Philadelphia to that of Chaleur Bay, (1620.)

Various proprietors and companies.

Even then, the Council for New England set on foot no colonization of its own. Its energies seemed to be spent in making grants to individuals, — some of them its members, — or to associations, by whom the settlement of New England was to be accomplished. Singular enough, considering that it was New England, a large proportion of these subordinate agencies was directed to the establishment of what may be called a number of lordly domains upon the soil. In following this succession of proprietors and of companies, we lose sight of the Council for New England.

Settlement of Plymouth.

One settlement, originally made without a grant from the council, was by much the most important for many years. It was on no large scale. One hundred and two passengers in the Mayflower landed at a place already called New Plymouth, (December 11, 1620.) They were a band of Puritans, whose extreme principles had led to their exile, first from England to Holland, (1608,) and then from Holland to America. Obtaining a grant from the London Company, they set sail for Virginia, but landed to the north of that province, in the limits of New England. The year following, they procured a patent from the Council for New England, (1621.) But not in their own name; the grant being made to one of a company of London merchants, with whom they had formed a partnership before sailing to the west. The Londoners, holding their title under the council, thus constituted a sort of company within a company. Nor was it until after six years, marked by many troubles and by many injuries, that the colonists extricated themselves from this twofold dependence by the payment

of a large sum to the London merchants, (1626.) The difficulties with the merchants had been the least of the trials of the Plymouth settlers. Half of the one hundred and two of the Mayflower died within a year from the landing. "In the time of most distress," says the historian of the settlement, Governor Bradford, "there were but six or seven sound persons." After disease came want; "all their victuals were spent, and they were only to rest on God's providence; at night not many times knowing where to have a bit of any thing the next day." When a ship load of fresh immigrants arrived nearly two years after, "the best dish they," the earlier comers, "could present their friends with, was a lobster or a piece of fish, without bread or any thing else but a cup of fair spring water." Nevertheless the Pilgrims, as they were called, sustained and extended their settlements. A second patent from the council was obtained for the country near the mouth of the Kennebec, where a trading post was presently established, (1628.) The whole extent of settlements, both at Plymouth and on the Kennebec, was included in a third patent, two years afterwards, (1630.)

Its distinction in history.

One who reads the history of these times without personal or national prepossessions will not find any thing of a very extraordinary character in the settlement of Plymouth. They who came thither, braving the perils of the unknown sea and the unknown shore, were but doing what had been done by their countrymen in Virginia, and by others in other settlements in America. Solemnity is certainly imparted to their enterprise by the reflection that they came to maintain the doctrines and laws which their consciences approved, but which the authorities of England proscribed. Yet the Huguenots of Carolina had done the same thing more than half a century before. The true distinction

of the Puritans of Plymouth is this, that they relied upon themselves, that they adopted their own institutions and developed their own resources, of course in a feeble, but not the less in a manly manner. Before they landed, they "covenant and combine themselves together into a civil body politic, to enact such just and equal laws as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony." The state thus founded was continued in entire independence of external authority, except in so far as its territory was held by grants from the Council for New England.

Political forms.

The political forms of Plymouth were singularly simple. Every settler of good character — that is, of the faith of the colony, and not an apprentice or a servant — was a freeman, a member of the body by which all affairs were administered or directed. An assembly of a representative character was not held for nearly twenty years, (1639.) Out of the freemen a smaller body was taken to exercise the every-day functions of government. It was composed merely of the governor and his assistants, or council, of which he was simply the presiding officer with a double vote. The first governor was John Carver; the second was William Bradford, who retained the post, with a few interruptions, for thirty-six years. It marks the simplicity, not to say the distastefulness, of these offices, that there should have been a law subjecting a man not having served the preceding year, and yet refusing to be governor, to a fine of twenty pounds, equivalent to a much larger amount in our day. A military body was headed by Miles Standish, the hero of the settlement.

Spirit.

But the spirit beneath these forms is of more importance than the forms themselves. The earnest faith of the Puritans was at once the source from which

the colony sprang, and the strength by which it grew. But it was also the principle of harsh and arbitrary measures. It transformed the exiles into persecutors, many of whose companions found themselves again exiles, escaping from the mother country only to be thrust out from the sandy coasts and chilly hovels of the colony.

Grants. Attempt at general government. Chaos.

Meantime New England was portioned out under various names. The secretary of the council, John Mason, called his grant Mariana, stretching from Salem River to the head of the Merrimac, (1621.) The lands between the Merrimac and the Kennebec were presently combined as Laconia, in a grant made to Mason in company with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, (1622.) The first settlement, however, in that neighborhood was made by some fishermen on the shore near Monhegan Island, beyond the Kennebec, and therefore independently of Mason and Gorges, (1622.) The next year the sites of the later Portsmouth and Dover were occupied, each under a separate association, to which the two proprietors had partially transferred their claims, (1623.) Meanwhile the Council for New England had been attempting great things, commissioning Captain Francis West as "Admiral of New England," Captain Robert Gorges as "Governor General," and the Rev. William Morrell as "Overseer of Churches." The last named was a clergyman of the English church. "He had," says Governor Bradford, "I know not what power and authority of superintendency over other churches granted him, and sundry instructions for that end, but he never showed it or made any use of it." "It should seem," says the stout Puritan, "he saw it was in vain; he only spoke of it to some here at his going away." The governor general and the admiral cut no better figure. The council, as if disgusted by the fate of their general officers, surrendered

their domains to chaos. New grants, within as well as without the limits of those already made, were issued by the council, or by members of the council; the whole coast from Plymouth to the Penobscot being cut up with dividing and intersecting lines.

New Hampshire and New Somersetshire.

Order began to be evolved. The partnership between Mason and Ferdinando Gorges being dissolved, (1629,) each obtained a new grant for himself. Mason gave the name of New Hampshire to the tract between the Merrimac (afterwards between the Salem) and the Piscataqua Rivers. The district between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec was called New Somersetshire by Gorges, who donned the title of Governor General of New England. "There was a consultation had," writes an Englishman at the time, "to send him thither with a thousand soldiers." The scheme of a general government was not yet abandoned, (1634.)

Cape Ann and Salem.

A company of Puritans in England had some time before acquired a fishing station of the Plymouth colony at Cape Ann, (1624.) Thither a few settlers were sent; Roger Conant being soon after invited to be the governor, (1625.) He was a man of great spirit, who had found it prudent to leave Plymouth in consequence of his too liberal Puritanism, and who now sustained the puny colony on the cape by his courage and his judgment. Perceiving a much better position at Naumkeag, he removed thither, (1626,) and there held the ground with a few dispirited adherents until, in accordance with his recommendation, nearly a hundred settlers arrived from England under the conduct of John Endicott, (1628.) Endicott took the direction of the colony as the agent of a new company, by which a grant of the tract between the Charles and the Merrimac Rivers had been procured from the Council for New England. The name

of Naumkeag was changed to Salem in the ensuing year, (1629.)

Company of Massachusetts Bay.

New associates having joined the enterprise, — John Winthrop, Isaac Johnson, and others of note from Boston, — a royal charter was procured for "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." A governor, deputy governor, and eighteen assistants or councillors, were appointed to hold monthly courts and to conduct the affairs of administration. The members at large were to be convened from time to time in general courts, by which officers were to be chosen and laws enacted, subject only to the condition of conforming to the laws of England. No mention of religion or of religious liberty was made, it being out of the question for the Puritans to obtain the formal recognition of their own faith. Thus going behind the grant of the Council for New England, the Massachusetts association obtained an independent position, in the same character that belonged to the council itself, as an English corporation. But four months after the date of the charter, it was decided, on the proposal of the governor, Matthew Cradock, "to transfer the government of the plantation to those that shall inhabit there," (July 28, 1629.) This at once changed the corporation from an English to a colonial one.

Boston.

Reënforcements had been sent out to the colony at Salem, (1629.) But the accessions to the list were now so great as to suggest the increase of settlements. The appointment of John Winthrop as governor, under the transfer of the charter to the colony, was followed by "the great emigration," so called, of about one thousand, who, after tarrying at Salem and the neighboring Charlestown, voted "that Trimountain shall be called Boston," (September 7, 1630,) and there took up their position at the centre

of Massachusetts Bay. The first General Court was held soon after, (October 19,) and from that time Boston took the lead of Massachusetts and of New England. It was entitled to do so in Massachusetts by the rank, the education, and the devotion of its settlers. It was entitled to do so in New England as the chief place in Massachusetts, then, and for many years after, the most important of all the English settlements.

Increase and independence.

The new colony grew apace. All around Boston there sprang up towns, some on spots previously occupied by individuals or by parties, but many in districts hitherto unvisited. Each new settlement contributed to the increase and the independence of the colony. So independent in some respects did its position become, that the Council for New England, sometimes as a body and sometimes through its individual members, began to dread and to resist the rising power. There was full enough in the attitude of the Massachusetts colonists to warrant the suspicion of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, "that they would in short time wholly shake off the royal jurisdiction of the sovereign magistrate."

Charter government.

No colony certainly had ever been endowed with similar powers. Charter government had hitherto been confined to companies in England. It was first inspired with all its vitality in Massachusetts. As the government, not merely of a corporation, but of a state, it invested its holders with an authority independent of all besides a mere allegiance to the crown and the law of the mother land. The officers elsewhere, as in the royal province of Virginia, appointed in England, were here elected on the spot, and by those over whom they were to preside. Governor, council, and assembly, all belonged to and proceeded from the freemen. With them resided every form of authority, save only the distant and the indefinite shapes of royal and parliamentary supremacy.

Puritan principles.

It by no means followed that the government was a liberal one. Whatever it might appear to be in the abstract, its operation was rigidly controlled by Puritan principles. These narrowed its sphere and stiffened its action. An early vote declared no one a freeman under the charter who was not a church member, (1631.) As but a small proportion of the inhabitants were church members, there were less freemen than non-freemen. The privileges of the charter being thus restricted to the pale of the church, the church and the state became virtually one. The elders of the church, clerical and lay, were as much magistrates as the magistrates themselves.

External relations.

Such a system favored the independence of the colony in its relations with the mother country; indeed, in all external relations. It made the colony strong in itself, relying upon its own resources, providing for its own wants. The villages of Massachusetts were hardly begun, its fields were hardly turned up by the plough, when the General Court "agree to give four hundred pounds towards a school or college," (1636.) This was subsequently located at Cambridge, and named after its first private benefactor, John Harvard, a clergyman of Charlestown, (1638.) The same year of the grant from the court, when such a sacrifice for the future must have strained the entire colony, the offer of certain noblemen to join the settlers, on condition of preserving their hereditary honors, was rejected, (1636.) All the while the colony was contending against the machinations of its adversaries in and out of the Council for New England. The charter, threatened again and again, was at length demanded back; but the men of Massachusetts stood firm, and it was spared, (1634–38.)

Internal relations.

The internal relations of the colonists were by no means equally secure. The system that cut

down the charter itself was not likely to respect the development of the individual. The very members of the ruling class were under the most rigid restraint. John Eliot, afterwards the missionary to the Indians, was obliged to retract the censures which he passed upon the magistrates for making an Indian treaty without consulting the freemen, (1634.) Israel Stoughton, a deputy, who ventured to write against the pretensions of the magistrates to a negative upon the General Court, was forced to ask that his manuscript "be burned as weak and offensive," and was then excluded from office for three years, (1635.) Roger Williams, denying the power of the magistrates to compel attendance upon their form of service, or to bind the conscience by human laws, was driven into exile, (1635.) It marks the spirit of the place, that even Roger Williams, the professed advocate of religious liberty, should have transgressed the very principle which he advocated, by forbidding his wife to pray with him because she would not join his scission from the church at Salem. These were all individual instances. There presently arose a party in opposition to the dominant system. It was led by a woman, Anne Hutchinson; but many of the principal men united with her in setting up what they termed a "covenant of grace" against the "covenant of works" upheld by the Puritan rulers. The leaders of the party were all banished, (1638.) One cannot wonder that William Blackstone, an early settler, who first invited the Massachusetts emigrants to settle at Boston, should retire before them, exclaiming, "I left England because I liked not the lord bishops, and now I like not the lord brethren."

Connecticut. The Massachusetts people were already emigrating. A neighboring territory, conveyed by the Council for New England to the Earl of Warwick, passed into the hands of Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and others,

(1632.) Upon their domain, a party from Plymouth established a trading post, (1633,) while another and a larger company from Massachusetts founded actual settlements at Windsor and Hartford, together called the Connecticut colony, (1635.) John Winthrop, son of the Massachusetts governor, and afterwards governor of Connecticut, led the first expedition on the part of the proprietors, and began a settlement at Saybrook, (1635.) A third colony was begun, a year or two later, by emigrants from England under the lead of John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, who, intending to settle in Massachusetts, were driven by the dissensions of that colony to New Haven, (1638.)

Providence and Rhode Island.

Connecticut was not the only colony to profit by the strifes in Massachusetts. Roger Williams, the exile, began the plantation of Providence, (1636.) As the founder of a colony, with the consent of the natives, to whom, as well as to his persecuting countrymen, he was a faithful friend, Williams deserves a far higher fame than he would ever have won as an agitator. He was followed by some of the Hutchinson exiles, who began a second colony on the northern shore of the island since called Rhode Island, (1638.) They, like Williams, obtained their lands from the natives.

Dissolution of the council.

The Council for New England, with or without whose patents so many settlements had been made, was now no more. Opposed by the advocates of a free fishery and a free trade, it had lately met with fresh assaults from those who regarded the churches of Plymouth and of Massachusetts as the offspring of schism and of sin. The council was weary of itself. Its efforts after a general government of the colonies had miscarried. Its grants had ceased to be in demand; indeed, in an honest point of view, there were no more to be made. Its

members, however, thought differently, and having once more parcelled out the territory of New England amongst themselves, they surrendered their patent to the crown, (1635.)

End of companies.

Thus ended the companies created by the patent of Virginia. One, lasting but eighteen years, began the single colony of Virginia. The other, continuing eleven years more, did not found a solitary settlement. It saw, however, quite a number of settlements made by others under its grants or upon its lands. The only office that either company had fulfilled, was to clear the way for individual enterprise. This done, both fell, and without a regret from any side.

Position of New England.

When the Virginia Company came to an end, its colony was declared a royal province. No such change ensued upon the dissolution of the Council for New England. Massachusetts, the chief settlement in the territory, was already provided with a royal charter. The other settlements were too insignificant to attract legislation, even if they attracted attention from England. Many of them, like Plymouth, were able to govern themselves. The rest would be provided for in time.

Thomas Morton.

It was plain, however, that the New England colonies needed some other system than they had to establish their relations amongst themselves. An instance in point occurs in the case of Thomas Morton "of Clifford's Inn, gentleman," as he called himself. Taking the lead of a few settlers encamped at Mount Wollaston, near Boston, he gave the hill the name of Mare-Mount, of which he styled himself "Mine Host," (1626.) The use of the church liturgy and the confidence of the Indians, whom he employed as his huntsmen, gave great umbrage to the neighboring colonists, the more so that he led a free and easy, perhaps a sensual, life upon his mount, and thus

attracted numbers from the surrounding settlements. A sort of crusade was started by "the chief of the straggling plantations," as Governor Bradford of Plymouth describes them; Plymouth, at their request, assuming the lead, and sending a party under Miles Standish to take Morton prisoner. He was sent to England, (1628.) As he had the audacity to return, he was apprehended by the authorities of the infant colony of Massachusetts Bay, whose charter covered his territory. The court ordered him to "be set in the bilboes, and after sent prisoner to England," his goods being seized and his house burned for wrongs, it was alleged, that had been done to the Indians, (1630.) After appealing to the privy council by petition, and to the English nation in a work called "New English Canaan," Morton returned again to encounter fine and imprisonment, (1643,) and to die in poverty, (1646.) Whatever were his faults, whether "the lord of misrule," as his adversaries represented him, or not, Thomas Morton was certainly handled by his fellow-colonists in a way the most opposed to justice and to peace.

Section III. — *Proprietors.* 1630 *to* 1638.

Grant of Maryland.

A new form of grant appears. Hitherto, the individual obtaining possession of territory procured it, like Mason or like Gorges, from a company to whose authority the acquisition was subject. It was by a patent from the crown that Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, was made "lord and proprietor" of a tract between the Potomac River and the latitude of Philadelphia, (1632.) To this he gave the name of Maryland, and thither, to a settlement named St. Mary's, his son, after the father's death, led a band of two hundred, (1634.)

Thus was constituted a proprietary government. The

A proprietary government.

proprietor held an authority that was supreme, save in its subordination to the sovereign from whom it emanated. He directed the administration and the legislation of the colony, appointing the executive officers, the governor, especially, as his representative, and controlling the proceedings of the colonists in their assemblies. To him likewise belonged the quitrents, or taxes upon occupied lands, in addition to the general taxes for the support of the government. The colonists, on their part, — that is, "the freemen of the province," — were to have their assembly, in which their "advice, consent, and approbation" might be given or withheld in relation to the course of the proprietor.

Religious liberty.

As with other settlements, so with Maryland, there are exaggerations in some of the histories. A vast deal of fine writing has been devoted to the magnanimity with which the Maryland charter provided for religious liberty. The instrument makes no mention of the subject, or of the establishment of religion, except to leave the matter to the proprietor, subject on this point, as on others, to the laws of England. The Calvert family, being Roman Catholic, could not make their own faith paramount, nor would they, perhaps, have done so, even if they could. They wanted settlers of all creeds, whose numbers and whose energies alone could give real value to their domains. It was simply a matter of policy, therefore, with the proprietary family, to let the question of religion rest exactly where it was left by the charter. We may hope that they were not merely politic enough, but generous enough, even in an age which knew little of generosity, to throw open their province to Christians, without any limitation in favor of one branch or of another.

Troubles.

The colony, young as it was, fell into troubles. Its assembly began to make laws without waiting

for the proprietor's legal initiative. At the same time, both proprietor and assembly were involved in disturbances excited by a member of the Virginia council, William Clayborne. Virginia herself took it ill that her territory should be invaded even by royal grants. Clayborne conceived his rights to be assailed, inasmuch as he, individually, had established trading posts within the Maryland limits. Taking up arms against the colony, he was overpowered, and sent back to Virginia, (1635.)

Other proprietors.

Other proprietors, besides those of Maryland, were in the field. Sir Robert Heath, attorney general to Charles I., obtained the patent of a vast region on the south of Virginia, and as far as the Gulf of Mexico. This he called Carolana, (1630.) Another tract, called New Albion, and including the present New Jersey, was conveyed in an irregular instrument from the viceroy of Ireland to Sir Edward Plowden, as an earl palatine, (1636.) These were but grants, not settlements, yet significant of the growing pretensions of England to the soil of America.

Conclusion. English motives.

No other nation of Europe, it need hardly be suggested, had made any settlements, individual, associated, or national, at all comparable to those of the English. Nor had there been any such definite purposes of settlement, separate from mere adventure, on the part of any other race. The English settler was emphatically a settler, rather than a treasure seeker or a conqueror, a missionary or a trader. Not that he shrank from other enterprises, but that his main motive was to gain a home, and an abiding one, in the western world. Acting in harmony with this were the desire to escape from oppression or from want, the yearning after a new faith or a new life, the various impulses that have appeared, it is

hoped, in the preceding pages. That there were baser instincts tending to the same end has also appeared.

Institutions. The institutions of the English were favorable to their purposes as settlers. The subjects of a limited monarchy, they brought with them the habits and the laws of comparative freemen. That they might have been freer in their political principles, needs not to be suggested anew. But in their varying charters, in their varying magistrates and tribunals, even in the least liberal, the English colonists possessed privileges to which neither the Frenchman nor the Spaniard in their neighborhood had ever actually aspired.

Circumstances. Of an equally encouraging description were the circumstances of the English. The seaboard was theirs, all at least that they could immediately occupy. The portion which they possessed was partly in the north and partly in the south, provided, therefore, with the resources of both regions, at the same time that it was not exposed either to the indulgence of the extreme south or to the privation of the extreme north. Within opened an interior region rich in its streams, its fields, its forests, its mountains; without lay the broad sea, accessible at a hundred harbors. Whatever mere position could effect was promised to the English settlers.

English names. As yet they had but begun the work before them. Their humble towns on the coast, their humbler villages and hamlets in the country, gave small token of their destinies. But the names of their territories were full of strength and of grandeur. There was New Albion on the Pacific, New Albion on the Atlantic. There was the land of Queen Elizabeth — Virginia; there was the land of the nation — New England.

CHAPTER VI.

Dutch Settlements.

Group of traders. A later group of settlers comes forward. It is composed not so much of settlers, however, as of traders, who, to carry out their commercial operations, lay the foundations of a state, and give it the name of their nation.

Spirit in Holland. The spirit of the preceding half century in Holland had been that of a people rescuing themselves from a foreign dominion and building up a power of their own. Europe has nothing so brilliant upon its records at the time as the war of independence which the Netherlands waged, and waged successfully, against Spain. It might have been argued that such a nation would have surpassed all others in America.

Dwindled in America. But it was not so. The Dutch came late upon the scene. They came, moreover, not with the spirit or the law of their nation so much as with those of the commercial companies by which they were sent out or controlled. The story of their settlements is therefore an anomaly in the history of American colonization. The fire of the mother-land languishes in the colony. It is because the colony is not a national, but a corporate settlement, from its beginning to its end.

Hudson's voyage. The very year in which Holland became independent, (1609,) Henry Hudson, an Englishman in Dutch employ, sailed in search of a northern passage to

the Pacific. Shut out by the ice from his projected course, he steered westward, and reaching the coast of Maine, cruised southward as far as Virginia, giving to Cape Cod, on the way, the name of New Holland. As he returned towards the north, he discovered Delaware Bay, and entered the River of the Mountains, as he called the stream since known by his own name. These waters, first visited, perhaps, by Cabot in the English, (1498,) then by Verrazzani in the French, (1524,) and then by Gomez in the Spanish (1525) service, were now more thoroughly explored by Hudson. As their discoverer, he returned to Holland, and as their possessors, the Dutch sent out various vessels to trade with the natives and to claim the shores, (1610–13.)

Company of New Netherland.

The earliest of the Dutch posts was on the Island of Manhattan, (1613.) There the first craft of European construction was built and launched by Adrian Block, whose ship had been destroyed by fire. In his Manhattan vessel, appropriately called the Restless, Block went through Long Island Sound as far as Cape Cod, then, leaving his name for Block Island, he returned home, (1614.) The prospects of the new country looking well, the association of Amsterdam and Hoorn merchants, by whom Block and other explorers had been employed, gave it the name of New Netherland, and applied to the States General for protection in their enterprise. This was obtained, in the shape of an exclusive right for three years "to visit and penetrate the said lands lying in America between New France and Virginia, whereof the coasts extend from the fortieth to the forty-fifth degrees of latitude;" that is, from Delaware to Passamaquoddy Bay. The association, taking the name of the United New Netherland Company, set themselves to work, (1614.) A fort was built at Manhattan; a fortified trading post was established up the river, near the present Albany, (1615.)

Meanwhile the little Restless, commanded by Cornelius Hendricksen, was exploring the coast to the southward, and ascending the Delaware, then called the South River, to distinguish it from the North, or Prince Maurice's River, as the Hudson was variously styled.

Proposals of the Plymouth Puritans.

The monopoly of the New Netherland Company expiring without their being able to obtain its renewal, other parties entered into the trading operations of which the colony was the centre. But the old company, or rather a portion of its members, retained a sort of vantage ground. To them, accordingly, the Puritan exiles in Holland — the same who settled Plymouth — addressed their proposals of emigrating to New Netherland. The party to whom the application was made petitioned the States General that the Puritans might be taken under the national protection, in which case the petition asserts "upwards of four hundred families" "from this country and from England" would settle in the Dutch colony, (February, 1620.) The prayer of the petitioners was refused.

West India Company.

The New Netherland Company had ceased to be a body in which the nation confided. An old project of a West India Company was revived, and a corporation of that name established, with power, not only over New Netherland, but the entire American coast, (1621.) It was some time before the company began its operations; but when it did begin, it was evidently in earnest, (1623.)

Walloon colony.

Ten years had elapsed since the trading post on Manhattan had been occupied, and there were still none but trading posts in all New Netherland. Not a colony worthy of the name as yet existed. The only plan that had ever been formed of establishing one came from the Plymouth Puritans. It is a singular coincidence that

the first colony to be actually established was one of refugees, like the Puritans, from persecution. These were a band of Protestant Walloons, from the Spanish Netherlands, who, after applying unsuccessfully to the London Company of England, enlisted as colonists under the West India Company of Holland. Sent out in the first expedition of the company, they settled at Waal-bogt, or Walloons' Bay, on the western shore of Long Island, (1623–24.) Their settlement stands out amidst the surrounding trading posts as the one spot of home life in New Netherland. But it was a feeble settlement, and feeble it continued, although recruited by fresh fugitives from beyond the sea.

New Amsterdam. The company was by no means absorbed in its Walloons. On the contrary, it was erecting forts, one on the North River, another on the South, and presently, the chief of all on Manhattan Island, (1626.) Purchasing the entire island from the natives for no less than twenty-four of our dollars, Peter Minuit, the company's director, commenced the erection of a fort, with some surrounding dwellings, to which the name of New Amsterdam was subsequently applied. This settlement was to New Netherland the same principal place that it has since become as New York to the United States. Other forts were gradually raised; that of Good Hope upon the Connecticut, and that of Beversrede upon the Schuylkill, (1633.) The dominion of the company was in force upon the soil not only of New York, but of Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, and all within ten years of its first operations.

Patroons. But upon this vast surface the company's settlements were as dots. Several of them, indeed, had been obliterated, and of those that remained, hardly one besides New Amsterdam was any thing more than a sta-

tion for trade. New Amsterdam itself was only a commercial settlement. Other posts of the same character had been begun, but the colony, as a whole, was in a languishing condition; the company, of course, being disappointed in their expectations of rich returns. To advance their interests, they offered a slice of territory and the title of patroon to any one who, within a given period, would settle a given number of colonists upon lands bought of the natives, (1629.) This regard for the Indians was not the only proof of liberality in the patroon system, as it may be styled. The support of a clergyman and a schoolmaster, with that of a "comforter for the sick," was especially enjoined as one of the conditions to be fulfilled by the patroons. But mixed up with the more generous provisions were others of a very opposite nature. The fur trade, the great attraction of New Netherland, was reserved exclusively to the company. Pain of banishment was to deter the colonists from "making woollen, linen, or cotton cloths." "As many negroes as can be conveniently provided" were promised to the Dutch settlers. All the while, the patroons were constituted a class of feudal lords, as threatening to their superiors in the company as to their inferiors in the colony. Large purchases were made by individuals, (1629–31,) and some settlements were attempted, the chief being those of Rensselaerswyck, near Albany, Pavonia, opposite Manhattan Island, and Swaanendael, on the Delaware. Some of these reverted to the company; some disappeared.

English claims.

Spain and France, as we have read, had their pretensions to the soil of New Netherland. But the only power to dispute the Dutch possession was England. Tradition asserts that the same Captain Argal who destroyed the French settlement in Maine visited the huts on Manhattan Island, as he was returning to Virginia, and

compelled the few Dutchmen whom he found there to acknowledge the English supremacy, (1613.) This is uncertain; but it is certain that when the New Netherland Company appealed to the States General in behalf of the Plymouth Puritans, they represented the danger of the colony's being surprised by an expedition sent to support the claims of England, (1620.) The Council for New England was soon engaged in appealing to the Privy Council against what they deemed to be an invasion of their territory. The appeal was received, and an order of inquiry into the circumstances went to the British ambassador in Holland. He replied that there was as yet no Dutch colony upon the soil, (1621.) But as time passed, and colonies were founded, the suspicions of the English, both in England and in America, were revived. A correspondence, opened by Peter Minuit, director of New Amsterdam, with William Bradford, governor of New Plymouth, stirred the Englishman to ask that the Dutch should trade no more in his neighborhood; and further, that they should clear their title to trade or to settle in any part of the country at all. No wonder that Minuit applied to the company in Holland for forty soldiers, (1627.) On his voyage home, a few years later, Minuit and his ship were detained on touching at Plymouth in England, and to the remonstrance of the Dutch embassy, the British ministry formally opposed the title of Great Britain to New Netherland, (1632.) It was soon after that the English settlements in Connecticut began to crowd upon the fort of the Dutch, (1633–38,) while a direct invasion of Delaware was made from Virginia, (1635.) This was repelled; but the soil of Connecticut could not be retained.

Trade of the colony.

The colony was still a colony of traders. No generous views, no manly energies, were as yet excited amongst its inhabitants or its rulers. From

the slave to the colonist, from the colonist to the patroon, from the patroon to the director, and even from the director to the company, there was little besides struggling for pecuniary advantages. It was esteemed a great era in the colony when, after various dissensions, its trade was nominally thrown open. But the percentages to the company were such as to prevent any really free trade, (1638.)

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CHAPTER VII.

Swedish Settlements.

Idea of Gustavus Adolphus.

Last of all to claim a share as a nation in our territory were the Swedes. Their far-sighted and large-hearted king, Gustavus Adolphus, the champion of the Protestant cause in Europe, caught up the idea of supporting the same cause in America. "It is the jewel of my kingdom," he wrote just before he died, concerning the settlement that was yet to be, (1632.)

Oxenstiern calls in Germany.

The jewel of Gustavus received its setting from the regent of his infant daughter Christina, the Chancellor Oxenstiern. With the same loftiness of view, — preparing a state that was to be of benefit to "all Christendom," — Oxenstiern invited and obtained the coöperation of Protestant Germany, (1634.) The Swedish West India Company was to be the instrument by which the north of Europe, as well as Sweden, was to be linked to America. It was a design of greater ends and of broader motives than had as yet been formed for the new world.

Results.

But the results bore no proportion to the plans. It was not to be expected that such colonists as could be found in Sweden would embrace the same wide objects as their regent or their king. They would enlist only in an enterprise that promised personal as well as national returns. Some years passed before any settlement was attempted, and then a colony of only twenty-four, and

these chiefly transported convicts, was established at Fort Christina, near the present Wilmington in Delaware, (1638.) The territory, which was purchased of the Indians, extended on either side of the fort, along the western shore of Delaware Bay, and up the Delaware River as far as Trenton, under the name of New Sweden.

Opposing claims.

To this the Swedes had been guided by Peter Minuit, lately of New Netherland. His recommendation of lands previously purchased and occupied, though just at this time unoccupied, by his countrymen, involved the Swedish colony in immediate difficulties. A remonstrance from the governor of New Netherland against the invasion of his province was supported in Holland by the seizure of a Swedish vessel touching at a Dutch port on its way home. The English had their pretensions likewise to the lands appropriated by the new colony. On each side were conflicting claims. With feeble numbers and with scanty supplies, the Swedes would find it difficult to keep their New Sweden.

CHAPTER VIII.

Indian Races.

European races. The roll of European races establishing themselves independently upon our soil was filled up by Spain, France, England, Holland, Sweden, and, with Sweden, Germany. After the Swedish colony of 1638, no national settlement was made by any nation not already upon the scene.

Indian races. It is time, therefore, to take an account of the races that occupied the country before any of those from Europe entered upon their possessions. The share of the Indians in our history endures, though their share in our territory wastes away.

Names and numbers. The idea of Columbus that he had merely rediscovered India gave the name of Indians to the existing inhabitants of the continent. Within the limits of our country they were divided into four grand divisions, as the Algonquins, the Iroquois, the Mobilians, and the Dahcotas. The last name includes the tribes west of the Mississippi, of which, in the early period, the number could not have been at all considerable. Neither were the three divisions lying east of the Mississippi by any means numerous. The entire number is estimated to have been under three hundred thousand, and perhaps not above two hundred thousand, at the time of the first European settlements. Take from the whole the large part which had little or no connection with any of the European

races, and the Indian population dwindles to small proportions. It seems strange that so few, and these few savages, should have exercised so great an influence upon so many, and these many civilized. But it will be accounted for by a rapid survey of the Indian divisions and the Indian resources.

Algonquins. First of the Algonquins. The central tribe of this vast race was the Lenni-Lenape, which, occupying the shores of the Delaware, went by the name of Delawares amongst the English. The name of Lenni-Lenape, meaning Aborigines, is supposed to mark them as the parent stock of the Algonquins. The shoots of the race were enormously spread. Starting far up in the north, they stretch through New England, as the Abenakis, the Pawtuckets, the Massachusetts, the Pokanokets, the Narragansets, the Pequots, and the Mohegans. Thence they may be traced as the Manhattans of New York, the Susquehannas and the Nanticokes of Pennsylvania and Maryland, the Powhatans of Virginia, and the Pamlicos of South Carolina. Towards the west they appear as the Ottawas of Michigan, the Miamis of Ohio and Indiana, the Illinois of Illinois, and the Shawanoes of Kentucky. Long as this list is, it embraces but a portion of the names to be found in any full record of the Algonquins.

Iroquois. Next of the Iroquois. The centre of this division was among the lakes of Western New York, where the Five Nations of the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas established their confederacy. To the west and north-west of the Five Nations lay their conquests of after years, the lands of the Eries, of the Hurons, and of other tribes. The prowess or the intrigue of the Iroquois had already subdued the great tribe of the Algonquins, the Lenni-Lenape. Far to the south, partly in Virginia and partly in Carolina, were

the Tuscaroras, who, at a later period, migrated to unite with their brethren in the north, making six nations of the five.

Mobilians. Lastly, of the Mobilian division. It was broken up amongst the Yamassees of Georgia; the Muskhogees or Creeks of Georgia, Alabama, and Florida; the Seminoles of Florida, with the inland tribes of Catawbas in South Carolina, Cherokees in Georgia and Alabama, Choctaws, Natchez, and Chickasaws in Alabama and Mississippi.

Customs and institutions. There was but one line of wide distinction amongst these various tribes. It separated those who lived by the chase alone from those who lived not only by the chase, but by agriculture. The former class, of course, was the ruder of the two; yet the customs and the institutions of both were much the same. The Indian was every where a hunter, every where a warrior. If he was any thing else, if he attempted agriculture or trade, he seemed to be out of his element. The habits of civilized life were a burden, sometimes a destruction to him. This is true of all the tribes upon our soil; the only customs to which they took, and by which they held, were those of the wilderness, or, at the best, of the field. Their institutions were comparatively advanced. Gathered with his kinsmen in a totem or clan, then with other clans in a tribe, then perhaps with other tribes in a confederacy, the Indian was as much a member of a nation as the European. Above him were his chiefs, the hereditary sachems of peace, and the chosen leaders of war. Their sway and his rights rested together on laws, unwritten, but not undetermined. The devotion shown to these relations and to these institutions was that of true patriots, as well as true savages. It sustained the Indians through trials under which more civilized nations have much sooner succumbed. Had it

been united with a civilization, or rather a religion, by which the different tribes could have been blended in one, beneath better statutes and holier influences, the Indian race would have left no space for the European.

Influence upon the European.

We can now appreciate the influence of the Indian upon the European. Though far from being disciplined, though still farther from being concentrated, the natives of our soil would not encounter an invader without leaving an abiding mark upon him and upon his destiny. If not numerous in proportion to the vast regions over which they were spread, they were multitudinous in proportion to the scanty settlements of the stranger. He, moreover, was in an untried land, they in one which they had occupied from infancy.

Counter influence upon the Indian.

Had there been nothing else to make the Indians formidable, the treatment which they received would have been sufficient. The white men came, if not to drag the red man into captivity, or to ransack his stores, at any rate to occupy his lands. This was done, sometimes with and sometimes without the show of justice. If any nation deserves credit above another, it is not the English, not their Puritan or their Quaker branches, as frequently boasted, but the Dutch of New Netherland. Nowhere, however, do we find more than the pretence of even dealing with the natives. The intercourse thus opened was continued in much the same fashion. The Spaniards and the French had greater numbers, proportionally, of missionaries amongst the Indians; the French, whether missionaries or not, were on comparatively good terms with many of the tribes about them. But there are no exceptions to the general course of the Indian from the time that he encountered the European. Scorn, treachery, degradation, were his portion; fury and savage warfare were his revenge. Of the Indian wars we shall take notice hereafter.

African race. As the Indian drooped beneath the blight of the stranger, and became a dependant where his fathers had been free and powerful, he came in contact with another race also in dependence upon the European. This was the African race, introduced into Virginia the same year that the Puritans came to Plymouth, bondmen from the beginning and until now.

The country. And here, as we have completed the enumeration of the races in the country, it behoves us to give a glance at the country itself, varied and wide enough, as it must have seemed, for many colonies, or many nations. Although as yet the seaboard alone was occupied, the vast reaches of the interior, the stretching plains, the penetrating rivers, were descried. Different prospects, different attractions, different influences, opened in all directions, betokening that the various races here thrown together would have no want of development amongst themselves — no want, it must be added, of strife with one another.

CHAPTER IX.

EUROPE FROM 1492 TO 1638.

The great change.

AT the discovery of America, there was but one church amongst the Christians of Europe. There were several churches amongst them when America was settled. It was the great change of the century and a half that had passed away.

Its cause and character.

The reformation of the Catholic church, while under the supremacy of Rome, had been the prayer of many a devout heart. The more faithful the churchman, the more sensitive he was to the corruption and to the oppression existing in a body of which the liberty and the purity were alike sacred in his eyes. But he had nowhere conceived it necessary to break the church asunder in order to reform it; he was rather the champion of a closer union than existed amongst Christians. The rupture of the church was brought about, not by the reformer, but by the anti-reformer. Every where opposed, if not crushed, the reformers of successive periods met with a fate that did but increase the tendency which it was intended to arrest. The demand for reform became more and more earnest, more and more imperative. Still refused, still met by persecution, it was supported by sterner spirits and by more violent deeds, until the crisis came, bringing not only reformation, but division.

Luther's course.

The course of things in general appears in the experience of the individual who led the outbreak

of the reformation, especially so called. When Martin Luther, an Augustine monk of Wittenberg, in Saxony, hung up on the church door a paper of ninety-five theses, or propositions, against the doctrine of indulgence, that is, of absolution without repentance, he was "a papist," as he himself said, "of the deepest dye," with no other object than that of saving the church as it was, (1517.) But rejected, buffeted, assailed in his purposes of reform, he threw off the yoke of Rome in three years' time, burning the papal bull of excommunication, and dividing the Christian church for ages, if not forever, (1520.) It was but a quarter of a century from the discovery of America.

Divisions.

Once that the church was rent, divisions yawned wide on all sides. The point on which the reformation concentrated itself was resistance to the Roman sway, which was accordingly thrown off by one state after another. Some of the seceders in Germany, resisting the measures of repression with which they were threatened, made the protest from which came the name of Protestant, (1529.) Then Protestants against Protestants appeared. The doctrines put forth by one party did not fay in with those of another party in the same nation; and as different nations entered the arena, different lines of separation arose between creed and creed, between form and form. It was the reaction against ages of baffled desire and stifled conscience.

A crisis of good and evil.

In presence of such dissensions amongst the believers in one Lord and one faith, there is surely no room for exultation. To regard the reformation merely as a triumph, without recognizing it as a trial of humanity, is to shut one's eyes against some of the darkest passages in human history. That it was a crisis alike of good and of evil, appears in its consequences, with which alone we are here concerned.

Religious consequences.

Take them, first, in a religious point of view. To those who altogether refused to enter into the reformation it brought a deeper subjection to existing wrongs. To those who wholly entered into it, on the other hand, who shrank from none of its extremes, it brought the oppression of new errors, wilder at least, if not more fatal, than any of the old. It was only on the middle ground, between the reckless adherent and the dogged opponent of the reformation, that they are to be found who profited by it, who returned to the truth in its moderation and its simplicity. Amongst these there was a reformation; amongst the others — those of the extremes on either side — there was rather a revolution, a convulsion.

Political consequences.

So with the consequences in a political point of view. The ruling principle of European governments, let it be remembered, was monarchy. It had raised itself to its position, let it also be remembered, by its successful strife with the papacy of Rome, of which, however, it was no more the sovereign than it was the subject. It had simply gained the ground on which, consciously or unconsciously, it might do its work of bringing forward, or of suffering to be brought forward, the social and the individual interests of the people. To maintain this place, a temperate course amid the agitations of the times was necessary. Where men rushed madly into every new scheme of government, there anarchy took the place of monarchy. It was displaced by despotism at the other extreme, where the subordination to the Roman see was unshaken. Why the state should be thus affected by movements begun in the church, will not appear singular if we reflect how similar was the necessity, how similar the desire, for reform in both.

Spain.

But to leave these general observations for the examples of them to be found amongst the states of

Europe, let us begin with the unchanging Spain, unchanging, though not without her Protestants. Yet there was no struggle between one cause and the other; the decision was sharp and resolute to the effect that the church should undergo no alteration. Naturally, therefore, the monarchy of Spain fell into a sort of dependence upon the central power of the church to which it was thus devoted. The monarch was the absolute sovereign, ruling for the priesthood, for the nobility, for himself of course, but not for his people. Beneath such a king as Philip II., (1556–98,) in whom the Spanish system, both in church and in state, found its impersonation, the energies of the nation received a blight from which they have never recovered.

France. The course of France, alike on some points, was very different as a whole. She had her massacre of St. Bartholomew, the bloodiest blow yet struck against the reformers, (1572,) before the edict of Nantes gave liberty of faith to her Protestants, the Huguenots, (1598.) But from the latter date, at all events, the position of France was that of a nation adhering to the Roman church, yet as its ally, not its subject. It was the temperate state upon the Roman side. Nowhere else did the church of Rome appear to so great advantage as where it was thus established in forbearance. Nowhere else was the state more successfully administered than where it was thus conducted in liberality. Europe saw no truer monarch during the period than Henry IV. of France, (1589–1610.)

Holland. Far on in the Protestant van was Holland. She flung herself into the reformation with a frenzy no doubt aggravated by her hatred for her mistress in Spain. The results were soon visible in scenes of pillage and blood. The Roman churches were violated; then the Protestant churches were rent asunder. In the state there were better signs. The heroic war of independence threw off the Span-

ish dominion, (1566–1609.) But to the hopes thus inspired there came a rapid reverse, with the rise of Maurice of Orange, to whom the best patriot of Holland, John Van Olden Barneveldt, fell a victim, (1619.) The Protestant extreme was quite as fatal as the Roman.

Sweden and Germany.

Sweden and Protestant Germany were calmer and happier. But the latter country was too much broken up, while the former was too much confined, to take any position of enduring influence. It is the less to our purpose to dwell upon their fortunes, inasmuch as they had but little part in the fortunes of our own country.

England.

Let us pass, therefore, to England, great in the Protestant cause, because great in the moderation by which the cause was sustained. The entrance of the nation into the lists was discreditable enough, so far as it was made at the dictates of Henry VIII., no earnest reformer, but a swollen despot. Once entered in, however, the heart of the nation beat nobly and enduringly. It went through few excesses. The passions of the early reformers were those of individuals; the austerities of the later reformers were those of a few, compared with the many who remained steadfast. The church of the reformation assumed its gentler aspect in the church of England — the mean between the extremes, alike of Protestantism and Romanism. Nor did the state altogether fail to harmonize with the church. The reign of Mary was an interruption; but that of her sister Elizabeth was more than a compensation, (1558–1603.) England was stirred to new life. Physically and intellectually, as well as morally, the nation received the impulse of the age, and bounded forward. Yet there were serious trials to come; the development that had been begun could not go on uninterrupted, its very activity occasioning retrocession at times, as well as advance.

All Europe was growing in one direction. No country

Intellectual expansion.

but was touched by an intellectual flame. Italy, far as she was from the sea that led to the new world, or from the agitation that led to the new life in the old world, — even she was radiant with science, with poesy, and with art. Galileo uttered his wondrous revelations; Ariosto and Tasso composed their glowing poems; Palestrina breathed forth his solemn strains; Michael Angelo and Raphael created their immortal forms. Spain, too, otherwise so mute or so repulsive, rang out responsive with her versatile Cervantes and her inexhaustible Lope de Vega. England, in her activity, answered with the one universal voice of Shakspeare. Bacon was the English, Descartes the French philosopher, both, but especially the latter, being at once deliverers and lawgivers to the human intellect. It was for America as well as for Europe that these marvellous works were wrought.

PART II.

THE ENGLISH DOMINION.

1638–1763.

CHAPTER I.

England and France from 1638 to 1763.

Question of precedence.

The two nations that were in the van of Europe would inevitably lead the van in America. The question of precedence between them was decided, as that of their common precedence had been, in Europe. Let us look thither in search of the controlling causes.

Reign of Louis XIV.

We shall see France submitting to the sceptre of a boy, Louis XIV., whose reign of nearly three quarters of a century (1643 to 1715) determines the point of French decline. We may call it decline, since this was the result, although the name of Great was then, and has since been given to the king, as if his government had been fruitful in grandeur and in beneficence. It was fruitful in neither. Its grandeur consisted of a dazzling court and a glittering army — elements of feebleness, as every one knows, rather than of greatness. Its beneficence was confined to courtiers and to commanders, to men not only of high but of low estate, provided they ministered to the royal will and to the royal luxury. But to be more definite.

The monarchy.

The reign of Louis was hostile to the true principle of monarchy; that is, to the principle of ruling for the good of a people. He used his power for selfish ends, in striving after which he did far more to precipitate than to secure the royal authority. If he made himself the preëminent sovereign, he did not make his nation the preeminent nation in Europe. Nor was he himself supreme

for any length of time. He saw his intrigues baffled, his armies defeated, his conquests and his resources gone, his court overshadowed, even before he ceased to rule.

The church. The one point, however, on which he failed most of all, was in relation to the national religion. He found this, it will be remembered, a moderate form of Romanism. He left it an extreme form. His displeasure bore down the liberal Romanists. His persecution crushed the Protestants. The edict of Nantes, beneath which the Protestants had found protection for nearly a century, was revoked, not without previous outrages, (1685.) Bigotry and priestcraft triumphed, but in a manner that tended to their overthrow, nay, to the jeopardy of the religion itself which they professed to uphold. No crisis in French history was more important than this. It changed the character not only of the national religion, but of the national government — even of the nation. The signs of feebleness within and of feebleness without in the administration, the disunion and the degradation amongst the people, sprang from no cause more clearly than from the transformation of the French church into a church of subjection to Rome, and of ferocity to all the world besides. It was thus chiefly that Louis left France shaken to the centre and to the base.

The nation. At the same time, the development of the French nation, begun in previous years, was not stopped. It was not even checked in some directions. Their chivalrous natures could not be turned back upon themselves. They were still the same ardent, the same generous race that they had been, more generous and more ardent than their king who was misleading them. Their higher minds gazed upwards steadily, in defiance of the errors and the wrongs around them. The names of Corneille the poet, of Pascal the philosopher, of Fenelon at once the poet, the philosopher, and the priest, bear witness to the aspirations of the French nation.

Reaction. Such an age as that of Louis XIV. was sure to be followed by a reaction. The long reign of his successor, Louis XV. (1715–74) was marked by almost every sign of degeneracy. Profligacy rather than splendor, sensuality rather than ambition, ruled at the court, while the church sank into indifference and infidelity. The people beneath these decaying oppressions is represented by Voltaire and Rousseau, both defying the corruptions in high places, yet neither believing in any principle that could restore purity or liberty.

The English nation. The English nation had its difficulties. In the first place, the people was but partially in existence. Such men as pursued their callings at home, or crossed the sea to the colonies, with any thing like independence of spirit, formed but a small class. The greater proportion were of the dependent and the inefficient. In the next place, a succession of struggles was interfering with all steadiness in the present, all security in the future.

Periods of trial. First came the period of Charles I., when the monarch excited his subjects to rebellion, (1625–49.) Next followed the period of the commonwealth, when the fierce excesses of the people threatened general ruin, (1649–59.) Then came the period of the restoration, when the brothers Charles II. and James II. renewed the arbitrary government of their father, the first Charles, without any of his principle or enthusiasm, (1660–88.) These periods were all of trial — trial to the church, trial to the state. The monarchy was in danger of falling, now into anarchy, now into tyranny. The church was in peril at one time of returning to the extreme of Romanism, and at another of falling into the extreme of Protestantism.

Revolution of 1688. From these trials it is common to say that the nation was saved by the revolution of 1688. So far as this event brought the despotism and the

extreme Romanism of James II. to an end, it did save England. But it had its own evil effects. It reduced both church and state beneath an aristocracy whose principles, on many points, were utterly adverse to the true concerns of either. There was no liberation, no elevation of the people. To them the revolution was as little a matter of interest as if it had occurred at the antipodes. The truth is, that the revolution, in itself, was but a cessation of the swayings to and fro of the preceding years. Inasmuch as it brought some measure of stability, it was a national blessing.

Aristocracy in power.

But the stability was the stability of the aristocracy. The sovereigns sank to a secondary place. William III., the hero of the revolution and the successor of James, was one to follow events rather than to lead them, (1688–1702.) His successors, Anne and the first and second Georges, (1702–60,) had no decided influence upon the national destinies. The rulers of England were its ministers and its Parliaments, turbid in themselves, yet the channels through which the stream was running before reaching its clearer and its wider course. The monarchy necessarily continued limited. But the church did not continue moderate, or even united. Its moderation gave way to the conservative aristocracy, the tories; its union yielded to the anti-conservative whigs. When these predominated, it was to the gain of Puritanism; when the tories got the upper hand, an extreme churchmanship prevailed.

English progress.

Yet the star of England was not going down. The very facts of an aristocracy and a Parliament imply that a larger number were sharing in the national power. A larger number also amongst the subject classes was rising to culture and to influence. The grandeur of such strains as Milton's, of such discoveries as Newton's, and the gentleness of such meditations as Addison's, of such

creations as Goldsmith's, betoken wider circles of intelligence and of elevation. After all its humiliations, the nation still stood erect, still struggled forward.

England and France.

Here lies the difference between England and France. The latter came out of her trials listless, corrupt, unbelieving. The former emerged in faith and in activity, many of her best interests broken and imperfect, but still capable of being restored, and to a higher state than they had ever reached. To England, the cycle of revolutions seemed closed for the time. To France, it seemed to be but opened. The one nation was still on the decline. The other had begun to rise.

CHAPTER II.

The Thirteen Colonies.

Old and new colonies.

We left various colonies from England scattered over the Atlantic coast. Of these, the three principal, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Maryland, were portrayed with comparative detail. Besides these three, several were mentioned as existing in New England, while others were projected in New Jersey and Carolina. It is the purpose of this chapter to show how the older colonies were concentrated, while new colonies were founded and extended.

Plymouth annexed.

The oldest colony in New England — that of Plymouth — maintained its independence for seventy years. It was then annexed to Massachusetts, (1691.)

Maine annexed.

The name of New Somersetshire was changed to Maine at the same time that Sir Ferdinando Gorges was constituted lord palatine of the province, (1639.) His deputy presently appeared to hold a general court at Saco, (1640.) The grant to Gorges covered the district from the Piscataqua to the Kennebec; but within a very few years one of the numerous patents, previously mentioned as conveying the same soil to different parties, was revived, and the land between the Kennebec and the Saco became a distinct territory, as Ligonia, (1643.) Some time later the two divisions were both annexed to Massachusetts, (1652–58,) then separated, (1665,) then reannexed, (1668,) and at length bought of the Gorges heirs by the colony of Massa-

chusetts Bay, (1677.) East of the Kennebec, as far as Pemaquid Point, there lay a tract belonging to the province of New York, (1664,) but afterwards united with Massachusetts, to which the territory beyond Pemaquid, previously occupied by one or two French posts, was also attached, (1691.) This eastern region was afterwards detached by French conquest, (1696,) but was ultimately reunited to Massachusetts by treaty with France, (1713.)

New Hampshire.

Not quite so various were the fortunes of the New Hampshire settlements. Those at Dover, Portsmouth, and Exeter,* surrendering themselves to Massachusetts, (1641–42,) left nothing but unsettled lands to bear the name of New Hampshire. But on the revival of the Mason claims to the territory east of the Merrimac, New Hampshire was declared in England to be a royal province, (1677–79.) The new government had been in operation but a short and a troubled period, when the people again united themselves to Massachusetts, (1690–92;) and, though again disunited, they were once more rejoined to that colony, at least so far as to be under one and the same governor for nearly half a century, (1698–1741.) Annexation did not prevent disturbance. New Hampshire was still the object of suits and controversies on both sides of the ocean, while the course of affairs amongst the inhabitants themselves was far from being peaceful. It finally became a separate province, (1741.)

Massachusetts.

Massachusetts Bay was the thriving sister, as we see, amongst the New England family. Her large immigrations and her increasing resources gave her the stability and the unity which her neighbors lacked. She did not go without her trials. At the very time that Plymouth and Maine were added to her domains, her independence of

* Founded by Wheelwright, one of the Hutchinson exiles, in 1638.

government was reduced by a change in her charter, (1691,) of which we shall take notice hereafter. The colony continued, however, to thrive.

Connecticut. Of the three settlements in Connecticut, two, namely, Saybrook and Connecticut, were early united under the latter name, (1644.) For this colony a royal charter was afterwards procured by John Winthrop, the early governor, (1662.) The charter included the colony of New Haven; but to this community the provisions of the instrument were so unacceptable that the union was not consummated for two years, nor would it have been so soon but for external circumstances, (1665.) While the Connecticut territory was thus rounded off, it was cut into by the grant of Long Island to the province of New York, for which, likewise, the main land was claimed as far as the Connecticut River. But this claim was repelled.

Rhode Island. The settlements of Providence and Rhode Island were united under a single charter procured by their founder, Roger Williams, from the crown, (1644.) He went a second time to England to obtain its confirmation during the commonwealth, (1651–52,) being elected president of the colony on his return, (1654.) Suspended at a later time, the charter was renewed by the royal government, (1663.) A portion of the territory supposed to be covered by the charter, and lying to the west of the Narraganset waters, was for a long period separated from the colony, under the name of the King's Province, (1665–1727.)

Four colonies in New England. Thus were the various colonies of New England reduced to four — New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. A fifth colony, the later State of Vermont, was prepared by the Massachusetts Fort Dummer, on the site of Brattleboro', (1724,) and by the New Hampshire grants of townships, Benning-

ton being the earliest, (1749.) But the four elder colonies were all that enter into the list of the thirteen.

Virginia. Virginia, the oldest of the colonies, was still the most extensive in its limits. On the north, a bound seemed to be set by the grant of Maryland. But on the west and the south, Virginia stretched indefinitely, the grant of Carolana existing only upon paper. The government of the colony was frequently altered. Under the English commonwealth, the governors were chosen by the colonial assembly. (1652–60.) An earlier grant of the lands between the Potomac and the Rappahannoc to Lord Culpepper and his associates, (1649,) was afterwards revived, and extended to a lease of the entire colony for thirty-one years, (1673.) In vain did the Virginia assembly protest against the proceeding; in vain did it demand a charter to protect it against similar aggressions. Culpepper, buying out his associates and obtaining the appointment of governor for life, (1675,) sported his authority in England for several years before he made his appearance in Virginia, (1680.) His own disappointment being quite as great as the discontentment of his subjects, his authority over them was surrendered, and the provincial government was restored, (1684.) But, twenty years later, (1704,) a somewhat similar system was established by the appointment of one English nobleman after another to be governor; he, in his turn, sending out his lieutenant governor to administer the colony in his name. All the while the colony was increasing. On the south, indeed, its territories were restricted by the creation of new colonies; but on the west its settlers were crossing the mountains and clearing the farther valleys.

Maryland. The adjoining colony of Maryland underwent few territorial changes. Its vicissitudes, like those of Virginia, consisted in its passing and repassing into new hands. As Virginia changed from a province to a proprie-

tary colony, so Maryland changed from a proprietary colony to a province. After various disturbances, in none of which, however, had the proprietor's power been actually cast off, a convention of the Protestant settlers deposed the proprietary officers, (1689,) and transferred the capital of the colony from the Catholic St. Mary's to the Protestant Annapolis, (1694.) As the Protestant fervor in England was just then at its height, the proceedings of the colony were confirmed by the crown. But the head of the proprietary family in the next generation, Benedict Leonard, Lord Baltimore, becoming an English churchman, recovered the possession of Maryland, (1715.)

Carolina. The first of the new colonies amongst the thirteen was Carolina. This was the territory included first in the limits of Virginia, and then in those of Carolana by royal patent. The patentee of Carolana had made no settlement or grant; but Virginia had granted at least a portion of the territory by act of assembly, (1643.) Another portion was occupied by a Massachusetts party settled near the mouth of Cape Fear River, on land purchased from the Indians, (1660.) Without regard to any of these claims, eight persons of the highest rank, amongst them the Earl of Clarendon, then prime minister, obtained a royal patent for all the territory between Albemarle Sound and the St. John's River, (1663.) A second charter extended the northern boundary to Chowan River, and the southern to below the Spanish St. Augustine, (1665,) while a third charter annexed the Bahama Islands to the swollen province, (1667.)

North and South. It was swollen only on the map. In reality, it had but one or two shrivelled settlements. The nucleus of North Carolina was a Virginian settlement, not included in Carolina until the second charter, (1665.) The Massachusetts colony formed the nucleus of South Caro-

lina. Meeting with trials and desertions, this colony was absorbed in, rather than strengthened by, a band from Barbadoes. Other parties came from England, from New England, and from New York; with Presbyterians from Scotland and Ireland, and Huguenots from France, (1671–86.) Of the various settlements that arose, Charleston took the lead, (1680.) Both North and South Carolina were organized as proprietary governments. Such, however, were the troubles ensuing beneath these forms, that the Assembly of South Carolina, many years later, declared the proprietors to have forfeited their dominion. Following up a successful insurrection against the proprietary officials by an appeal to England, the South Carolinians obtained a provisional royal government, (1719–21.) Some time after, the crown, by act of Parliament, bought out seven of the eight proprietors, the eighth retaining his property, but not his sovereignty, (1729.) A governor was then appointed by the crown for North Carolina, both divisions being organized as royal provinces. Thenceforward, the two pursued their destinies separately.

New York. The next year after the grant of Carolina, a new grant was made in peculiar circumstances. New Netherland, though still occupied by the Dutch, was, as the province of a nation at war with England, conveyed by Charles II. to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany, as proprietor; the limits of the province being extended from the Connecticut to, and presently beyond, the Delaware, (1664.) In addition, the grant covered the eastern part of Maine and the islands to the south and west of Cape Cod, which the duke had obtained by transfer to him of early grants from the Council for New England.* These portions, however, of his domain fell at a later time

* To Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, in 1621–35.

beneath the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, as has been observed; while much of the main province went to Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. The seizure of the province from the Dutch will be told in another chapter. It continued under a proprietary form of government until the accession of the proprietor to the throne of England. It then became a royal province; though, while James II. ruled, it was more immediately dependent upon the royal authority than was customary with the provinces in general, (1685–88).

New Jersey. Hardly had the Duke of York obtained the grant of his province, when he conveyed that portion of it between the Hudson and Delaware Rivers to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley, both amongst the proprietors of Carolina, (1664.) A few hamlets of Dutch and English, who had crossed from Long Island, were already sprinkled upon the territory, when the first town under the new proprietors was founded, and called Elizabethtown, (1665.) The province was named New Jersey. As in Maryland and Carolina, so in New Jersey, there soon arose dissensions between the colonists and the proprietors. The proprietors were changed. Berkeley sold out his half to certain Quakers, who made a settlement at Salem, (1675.) In the following year, a formal separation of the province took place, the settlement at Salem being situate in West, and that at Elizabethtown in East New Jersey; the latter division remaining with Carteret. A treaty with the Indians, under the auspices of the Quakers, confirmed the rights of the proprietors, (1678.) Soon after, a company, of which some, but not all, the members were Quakers, made the purchase of East New Jersey, (1682.) A large Presbyterian emigration from Scotland then took place, (1685.) But the growth of the province, as well as that of its western sister, was greatly impeded, partly by domestic disputes between

the proprietors and the settlers, and partly by contentions with the officials of New York, who pretended to continued jurisdiction over the lands which had been separated from that province. The Jerseys were finally surrendered by their proprietors to the crown, (1702.) They were then reunited as a royal province, for many years, (until 1738,) under the same governor as New York.

Pennsylvania. A Quaker, interested in both the Jerseys during the Quaker possession, obtained the grant of the adjoining territory on the west. A royal charter constituted William Penn proprietor of a district whose extent, though uncertain, might have been described in general as lying between New York, New Jersey, and Maryland. To this the name of Pennsylvania was given by the crown, (1681.) A grant from the Duke of York conveyed the territories on the lower shore of the Delaware to the same proprietor, (1682.) Of this wide domain, a variety of settlers, Dutch, Swedes, and English, were partially in occupation. To take them beneath his rule, the proprietor sent out an agent with conciliatory assurances, while, to introduce fresh bodies of inhabitants, especially of his own persuasion, he formed an association in England. The first fruits were two colonies, one led by three commissioners, in the year of the charter, (1681,) the other conducted by Penn himself in the following year, (1682.) A convention of the different settlers, new and old, presently accepted the proprietor's organization of the province, including the territories of both the royal and the ducal grants, with their previous inhabitants. Next followed a treaty with the natives, a peaceful and a feeble tribe of Indians, whose acquiescence in his plans might have been disregarded by Penn without any danger, had he not preferred to be just. The town of Philadelphia was then begun, and there the first Assembly of Pennsylvania was soon convened, (1683.) With all

Penn's care, and all his frames of government, of which there was a goodly number, the course of his proprietorship did not run smooth. Troubles within the colony were accompanied by troubles without; the province being at one time taken from him by the English authorities, (1692–94.) Even after his restoration, he found matters so difficult to manage, that he at length proposed to cede his sovereignty to the crown, (1710.) He retained it, however, and transmitted it to his sons, to be much the same source of struggle to them that it had been to him.

Delaware. The territories, so styled, of Delaware, originally a Swedish, afterwards a Dutch, possession, then an appendage of New York, and then again annexed to Pennsylvania, became so far separate from the latter province as to obtain a distinct assembly, though continuing to have the same governor, (1702.)

Georgia. Last of the thirteen was the colony of Georgia, in founding which there were mingled purposes of resistance to the Spaniards and the French in the south, as well as of relief to the suffering in England. A member of the House of Commons, James Edward Oglethorpe, had been active in proposing and carrying out an inquiry into the state of the prisons in Great Britain. The idea of rescuing some of the prisoners from a state of degradation even greater than they could have fallen into by themselves, and of settling them in a colony, occurred to Oglethorpe, as a philanthropist, while, as an officer in the royal army, he was also sensitive on the point of defending the colonial boundaries against the encroachments of other powers in America. The purchase of the Carolinas by the crown (1729) opened the way to the foundation of a colony to the south of the settlements already made; and for this a grant was obtained of the territory between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers, under the royal name of

Georgia, (1732.) The charter conveyed the land and the dominion over it, not to colonists, nor yet to proprietors, but to twenty-one trustees, who, though subject to the royal oversight, and to the obligations of the English law, were otherwise clothed with full power for twenty-one years. A common council of thirty-four members, fifteen of whom were named in the charter, and the rest appointed by the trustees, were to act as a board of administration merely. The colonial lands, it was further provided, were to be held by feudal tenure; that is, only by male heirs. A universal interest was excited by this novel scheme of colonization. General subscriptions poured in to aid the trustees in their half-benevolent, half-patriotic plans, while Parliament made a national grant of ten thousand pounds. First to enlist personally, was a party of more than one hundred, whom Oglethorpe himself led to the settlement, which he named Savannah, (1733.) Every thing seemed to bid fair; the Indians were conciliated, the colonists were satisfied, the nation was all alive with sympathy. Immigrants came from afar; Moravians from Germany; Presbyterians from the northern mountains of Scotland; the earnest and the careless, the peasant and the prisoner, united in one people, (1734–36.) To the generous project of saving the convicts of Britain was added the devoted hope of the Moravians that the natives of America might be converted. But there was a dark side to the scene from the first. The character of the colonists, that is, of the main body from England, was helpless enough, not to say corrupted enough, to cause great difficulties both to themselves and to their trustees. It will be seen hereafter that the military service expected from the colony was pretty much a failure. The colony soon became a royal province, (1754–55.)

Such were the thirteen colonies of England. Spread out with indefinite borders and indefinite resources, they lay

Aspect of the thirteen.

like misty points along the Atlantic shore. The eye that saw them, separate and indistinct, as they rose at the beginning, could catch no vision of the broad fields and the fruitful vales that were to expand and blend together in the future. As we look back ourselves, we see few promises of development or of unity in the early days of the thirteen colonies.

CHAPTER III.

Colonial Relations.

Races. The thirteen colonies were the colonies of England. But they were far from being settled exclusively by Englishmen. The west, the centre, and the south of Europe all sent forth emigrants in greater or less numbers to people the American shore. Nor did these come to the settlements of other nations, to those of the Spaniards, the French, the Dutch, or the Swedes, alone, but rather to the English colonies, whose praise it is to have thus attracted and provided for the stranger.

Classes. As there were different races, so there were different classes. First came the gentleman, peculiarly so styled, of various look and of various spirit, according to the respective colonies, but every where classified as of "the better sort." This order was perpetuated by the law of primogeniture, the eldest son receiving at least a double, if not more than a double, share of his father's estate. Next were the people of "the poorer sort" — the lower orders, as their name denotes. But by no means the lowest; as there were others beneath them in the scale. The indented servants, or apprentices, constituted a class of temporary bondmen. Sometimes exactly what their name suggests, too young or too shiftless to be their own masters, the indented were often men of a higher grade, the adherents, in many instances, of a defeated party or of a persecuted creed, who, falling into the hands of their opponents, were

sold for transportation to a market where they could be re-sold at a profit. Such were the English royalists, taken captive by the parliamentary forces; such the Roman Catholics, conquered while fighting for their faith in Ireland. Such, too, were many of the exiles from the continent. So great were the numbers imported as to amount — and in time of peace — to fifteen hundred a year in the single province of Virginia. The little consideration that there was for the class appears in the colonial codes.* Lower still, however, were the slaves. The first of this class were Indians, captured in wars or taken in snares, sometimes bought of their parents, even of themselves. Then came the negroes from Africa. These poor creatures found little mercy in the colonial statutes. The English law recognizing slavery declared the children of a free father to be free. But the Virginian code declared a child to follow the lot of the mother, (1662.) The law of England pronounced it felony to kill a slave. The law of Virginia decided it to be none, (1667.)†

Of the old world. These classes were confined to no colony, and to no division of colonies. They existed amongst the rigid settlers of the north as well as amongst the freer

* Maimed by a master, the servant is to be set free, (Mass. 1641; N. Y. 1665;) but any resistance on the servant's part entails an additional year of servitude, (Va. 1705.) Such as escape from their bonds are to be given up to their masters, or else their value is to be made up by those who harbor them, (Va. 1661.) Poorly as the class was rated, there was that about them, in their anger, which prompted the Virginians to make a "perpetual holiday" of the day on which a conspiracy, detected amongst their servants, was to have been executed, (1663.)

† The Virginia laws make it allowable to kill a fugitive, (1672,) forbid the slave at any time to carry arms, (1682,) cut him off from trial by jury, (1692,) and prohibit his manumission, except he is transported out of the province, (1692,) or except the governor and council deem him worthy of his liberty, (1724.) Other codes take much the same tone, without always entering into the same details. The most rigid laws were those of South Carolina, (1712-60.)

and easier planters of the south. But they were not of colonial creation. They came from the old world, transplanted from its ancient lands to the virgin soil of America. If they did not die, it was inevitable that they would take root and grow up with renewed luxuriance.

Institutions belong to the freemen.

The sketch that goes before shows us that the colonial institutions were not the institutions of all. They belonged to the freemen, so styled, "the better sort," with but a portion of "the poorer sort" thrown in. Indented servants and slaves, of course, had no part in the political or the social privileges of their superiors. But besides the bondmen proper, there was a large number not bondmen, and yet not freemen by the laws of the colonies. "The people," says an early writer on the Massachusetts system, "begin to complain they are ruled like slaves." Actual restlessness was showing itself. "It is feared," says the same writer, "that elections cannot be safe there long, either in church or commonwealth, so that some melancholy men think it a great deal safer to be in the midst of troubles in a settled commonwealth, or in hope easily to be settled,* than in mutinies there, so far off from succors," (1641.)

English law.

The institutions of the freemen sprang from the English law. How far this extended over the colonies was a vexed question. One class of jurists or of statesmen in England maintained that America was a conquered country, a country wrested from the native or the European races whom the English found in possession of it. The deduction from this view was, that the institutions of the country were at the pleasure of the crown or of the Parliament of England. But another class held opposite ground, asserting that the colonists were entitled, without

* Referring to the disturbances in England.

any consent or dissent on the part of England, to all the rights of Englishmen, inasmuch as the country was a discovered, not a conquered one. Some persons held an intermediate opinion, denying the notion of conquest, and yet denying the inherent claim of the colonists to English privileges, making their rights depend on actual grants from the sovereign power. So when the habeas corpus act, providing for the issue of a writ to produce the body of a prisoner, was passed, (1680,) it was said not to extend to the colonies, because they were not specially mentioned in the bill. A similar act, adopted by the Massachusetts General Court, was annulled by the crown, (1692.) But the privilege was afterwards tacitly, if not explicitly, allowed. The liberal system of interpretation slowly prevailing, the English law was almost universally recognized to be the birthright of the colonies as truly as of the mother-land.

Colonial governments.

The governments of the colonies were variously organized. Those under charters were altogether in the hands of the colonists. The charter of Massachusetts, indeed, was so far altered in 1691 as to transfer the appointment of the governor, lieutenant governor, and secretary to the crown, and even to prescribe the conditions on which the inhabitants should be admitted as freemen. The charters of Connecticut (1662) and Rhode Island (1644–63) left the entire administration to the colonists. The seven colonies originally under proprietary government — Maryland, the Carolinas, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware — were of course subject to the authority of their proprietors, but with many restrictions upon it in favor of the colonists. The Carolinas, under the model of John Locke,* and New York, under

* John Locke, the great philosopher, was employed by the Carolinian proprietors to embody their ideas — one cannot but think — rather than his own, in what was called "the grand model," or "the fundamental con-

the arbitrary rule of its ducal proprietor, who allowed no Assembly till 1683, were not so favorably situated. Pennsylvania was subjected to claims asserted nowhere else, as well as deprived of rights denied nowhere else, by two peculiarities in the charter to William Penn; one, the assertion of the power of Parliament to tax the colony, the other, the omission of the title of the colonists to the rights of Englishmen. The record that four of the proprietary governments were changed to royal governments, — the Carolinas, New York, and New Jersey, — and all at the desire of the colonists, bears witness against the institutions of which proprietors were the chiefs. The royal provinces, however, were organized on the same terms as the proprietary colonies, except that, the king being at the head of affairs, the institutions of the provinces were more uniform. The number of provinces was seven: the four just mentioned, with the older Virginia and New Hampshire and the younger Georgia.

Towns. In some of the colonies, especially those in the north, the towns were at the centre of their organization. These were the primary bodies in which the colonists

stitutions." Of the system thus concocted, the primary element was property, the scale of colonial dignities being graduated according to the possessions of the colonist. Seigniories for the proprietors, baronies for landgraves and caciques, colonies for lords of manors, or freeholders, were the divisions of the soil. Authority was parcelled out amongst palatine and other courts for the proprietors, a grand council for them and their nobility, and a Parliament for the proprietors, the nobility, and the lords of manors. As for those not wealthy enough for either of these classes, they were hereditary tenants, or else slaves. The church of the colony was to be the church of England, with a certain amount of toleration for other creeds. This extraordinary mass of titles and of powers held together for just twenty-three years, (1669–1693,) but without ever getting into actual operation. It was relinquished by the proprietors at the universal desire of the colonists, who naturally preferred the simpler and the freer institutions originally reared under the charter.

were grouped and trained as freemen. Their workings, where they existed, are written on every page of the colonial and the national annals. Where they did not exist, their places were but poorly supplied by plantations or vestries. An instinct, as it may be called, after the establishment of towns, led the early legislators of Virginia into curious expedients. At one time, the resources of the colony were to be brought to bear on making Jamestown a city worthy of the name, (1662;) at another, each county was directed to lay out a town of its own, (1680.) At length a new capital was founded at Williamsburg, (1698.)

Assemblies. Next to the town or its substitute, under every form of government as ultimately established, there was one and the same body. This was the assembly, the same cherished institution to the colony that Parliament was to the mother land. At first, in some places, composed of all the freemen, then placed upon a representative basis, and then divided into two houses, one of councillors or assistants, the other of representatives or burgesses, the assembly exercised all the functions of a legislature, subject, of course, to the law and the sovereign of England. The House of Representatives, or of Burgesses, as the case might be in the different colonies, constituted the popular branch, so entirely in some instances as to go by the name of the assembly, leaving the councillors or assistants to appear, what they generally were, the officers of the crown. But the assembly was by no means popular, according to modern notions. A large amount of property, real or personal, was usually essential as a qualification of membership, the very voters being under some conditions of the same nature. The sessions were often few and far between; in some colonies, and at some periods, not more frequent than once in three years, or even more than three. An assembly, moreover, would sometimes hold over beyond

its lawful term, becoming as much of a burden to the colony as it was intended to be an assistance. But when once convened, at the proper season and in the proper spirit, the assembly was a tower of strength to its people.

Churches. That which was most variable, not to say most ineffective, in the colonies, was the very thing that should have been most stable and most powerful. The church of Christ was rent with factions. The blessings that might have issued from a common church, had it been pure and true, have no place in our history. The church of England was established in Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia. The Quakers and the Presbyterians prevailed in the central colonies; in the northern, the Puritans carried all before them. Such divisions would not merely prevent unity; they would break up liberty.

Persecution in Massachusetts. Child. Amongst the harshest provisions of the Massachusetts system was that excluding all but church members from the rights of freemen. Against this, chiefly, was directed the petition of Dr. Robert Child, and six others, some of them of the highest station, church membership excepted, in the colony, (1646.) Child was a young man, recently arrived in the country with the purpose of making some scientific inquiry into its mineral resources. At the time of his petition, he was on the point of returning to England, but with the idea, apparently, of coming back to Massachusetts, could he be received on equal terms with the freemen of the colony. Be this as it may, he and his fellow-petitioners asked for admission to the privileges of Massachusetts, instead of which they found themselves charged with "contemptuous and seditious expressions," for which they were arraigned and heavily fined. Thus treated, they set about preparing a memorial, which Child was to convey to Parliament, and in support of which, another document, praying "for liberty

of conscience, and for a general governor" from England, was hastily got up amongst several of the non-freemen of Boston and its neighborhood. Only a few signatures to this paper were obtained, probably on account of the risk which the signers ran; one of the most active of their number being put in irons, on the discovery of the affair by the magistrates. Child himself, and some of his fellow-memorialists, were also seized; their papers were examined, and their persons detained in custody until after the ship in which they intended to take passage for England had departed. A copy of their memorial reached London, but was never acted upon.

Baptists.

"I have done too much of that work already," John Winthrop, the governor for many years, is reported to have said in his last hours, when urged to sign an order of banishment against a believer in a different church than his own, (1649.) But he left others to carry out the austerities from which the approach of death might well recall a human spirit. Within two years, John Clarke, a minister amongst the Baptist exiles of Rhode Island, was arrested while preaching in a house at Lynn, (1651.) "They more uncivilly disturbed us," said he, "than the pursuivants of the old English bishops were wont to do." Imprisoned with some of his fellow-Baptists in Boston, Clarke did not give way, but demanded the opportunity of proving, prisoner as he was, "that no servant of Jesus Christ hath any authority to restrain any fellow-servant in his worship, where no injury is offered to others." The answer of the magistrates was, "Fined twenty pounds, or to be well whipped." One of his comrades escaped with a smaller fine, but another was whipped, while two persons who showed compassion upon him were themselves arrested and fined. Clarke, after paying his fine, would have sailed to England. But not allowed even to do this, he made his

way to New Amsterdam, where he met with humaner treatment, and found the means of crossing the sea. Arrived in England, he published his "Ill News from New England," "wherein is declared, that while old England is becoming new,* New England is becoming old." "The authority there established," he says, "cannot permit men, though of never so civil, sober, and peaceable a spirit and life, freely to enjoy their understandings and consciences, nor yet to live or come among them, unless they can do as they do, and say as they say, or else say nothing; and so may a man live at Rome also," (1652.)

Saltonstall's remonstrance.

Clarke's case appears to have excited attention, notwithstanding the late indifference in relation to Child and his fellow-petitioners. Such as were opposed to the Puritans did not stand alone in condemning their intolerance. One of their own number, an early and a distinguished member of the Massachusetts Company, wrote to the elders, Wilson and Cotton, in terms of sorrowful remonstrance. "It doth not a little grieve my spirit to hear what sad things are reported daily of your tyranny and persecution in New England, as that you fine, whip, and imprison men for their consciences. . . . These rigid ways have laid you low in the hearts of the saints." Thus wrote Sir Richard Saltonstall, a Puritan, but not a persecutor, a lover of other men's liberty, as well as of his own.

Dunster of Harvard College.

His letter was unheeded. Within a very brief period, the first president of Harvard College, Henry Dunster, a clergyman, a scholar, and a true man, was tried, convicted, and obliged to resign his office, on the charge of being a Baptist, (1654.) "The whole transaction of this business," wrote he, "is

* In the time of the commonwealth.

such, which in process of time, when all things come to mature consideration, may very probably create grief on all sides; yours subsequent, as mine antecedent. I am not the man you take me to be." In the following year, (1655,) the corporation of the college appealed to the General Court to pay the amount still due to the deposed president, as well as to allow him something additional, "in consideration of his extraordinary pains." But so intemperate was the disposition of the authorities, as to refuse not only the additional grant, but even the actual balance of the president's account. The spirit of wisdom had not yet descended either upon Harvard College or upon the community by which it had been founded.

Quakers. A new class of victims appeared. A few unhappy Quakers — the more unhappy, if guilty of the fanatical excesses with which they were charged — came to Boston, some of them to brave, all of them to encounter, persecution, (1656.) Brought immediately before the magistrates, they were first confined, and then sent away beyond the limits of the colony. Laws were at once passed, inflicting a fine of one hundred pounds upon any master of a vessel who brought a Quaker with him, and ordering imprisonment and scourging for any Quaker that might appear. This not being deemed enough, a new batch of statutes was prepared within the next two years, (1657–58,) fining the spectator or the worshipper at a Quaker meeting, the host of a Quaker, and threatening the Quaker himself with loss of ears, mutilation of tongue, and, finally, if he returned after being banished, with death. In these horrible enactments, almost all New England, except Rhode Island, coincided. They did not remain dead letters. One of the oldest freemen of the colony, Nicholas Upsall, accused merely of kindness to the persecuted, was banished for three years, and, on his return, was thrown into a two

years' imprisonment, (1656–59.) Nor was this the only case of the kind. As for the persecuted themselves, they were fined, imprisoned, scourged, and at length hanged, (1659–60.) Had it not been for the royal commands that these outrages should cease, (1660,) there is no saying how far they might have been carried. As it was, the persecution continued at intervals, until a fresh order came from the king, requiring liberty of faith for all Protestants, (1679.)

Witches.

The saddest deeds of oppression in Massachusetts are yet to be told. It is accountable that the Puritan authorities should be bitter upon those who opposed their institutions or their creeds. But that they should raise a hue and cry against those who had no thought of opposing them, those against whom no charge could be substantiated but that of feebleness, of age, or of deformity, seems inexplicable. An English law of older date than any existing English colony, (1603,) by which witchcraft was declared a capital crime, found a place amongst the so-called liberties of Massachusetts, (1641.) Some years elapsed before it was enforced, (1656;) nor did it then seem to set so well upon the consciences of the rulers as to make them desirous of keeping it in operation. A later attempt at the same sort of thing in Pennsylvania resulted in the acquittal of the unfortunate object of ill will, (1684.) When all was quiet, and the troubles of witchcraft appeared to have subsided forever, there was a sudden swell. A witch, so styled and so condemned, was executed at Boston, (1688.) One victim not being enough, others were soon demanded, and found at Salem village, now Danvers. The magistrates of the colony had thrown a hundred persons into prison, when the governor, Sir William Phips, arrived from England to head the persecution. The lieutenant governor, William Stoughton, presided at the judicial tribunals.

Behind these official personages, several of the elders or ministers, led by Increase and Cotton Mather, father and son, urged on the ferocious pursuit. It lasted eight long months, devouring twenty victims, torturing many others, and threatening a still larger number, when the work of blood was arrested, partly by interference from England, and partly by accusations directed against some of the persecutors themselves, (1693.) "The Lord be merciful to the country," exclaimed Chief Justice Stoughton, on finding that he could sentence no more as guilty of witchcraft. Years later, the letters of Robert Calef, a merchant of Boston, who wrote against the fierce delusion of his neighbors, were burned in the yard of Harvard College by order of the president, Increase Mather, (1700.)

Persecution elsewhere.

We have lingered long in Massachusetts. It is there that we find the most striking traces of that persecuting spirit of which almost every colony had its share. New England, with one exception, occupied the same ground as its principal colony. New York ordered every Roman Catholic priest voluntarily entering the province to be hanged, (1700.) Protestants were likewise visited with penalties or with restrictions, unless they submitted to the church of England, (1704.) Maryland began by an act which proclaimed death to all who denied the Trinity, and fine, scourging, imprisonment, and banishment, to all who denied "the blessed Virgin Mary or the holy apostles or evangelists," (1649.) Long after, the Roman Catholics becoming, as has been mentioned, the objects of persecution, their public services were forbidden, and their offices as teachers, both private and public, were suspended, (1704.) Of all the colonies, however, none kept nearer to Massachusetts in the race of persecution than Virginia, the colony of the English, as Massachusetts was that of the Puritan church. A few Puritans, who had found a corner

in Virginia, invited some ministers from Massachusetts and New Haven. Three came, but were almost immediately warned by the government "to depart the colony with all conveniency," (1642–43.) Another Puritan clergyman, with many of his persuasion, was banished a few years later, (1648–49.) The Puritans being disposed of, the Quakers came in for attention. A law inflicted a hundred pounds' fine upon the shipmaster who introduced, and upon the colonist who entertained, a Quaker, the Quaker himself being imprisoned until he gave security that he would leave the colony never to return, (1660–63.) Baptists were provided for in another law, subjecting them to a fine, (1662.) Thus the prey upon which the Puritan magistrates pounced in the north was assailed by the church of England authorities in the south. The same spirit, suspicious and oppressive, was at work throughout the land.

Save in Rhode Island.

Save in one nook, where liberality and confidence prevailed. In Rhode Island, the colony whose people were twofold exiles, — exiles from England, and exiles from New England, — persecution found no place. The assembly, gathered under the charter of 1644, established freedom of faith by legislative enactment, (1647.) In petitioning for the charter of 1663, the Rhode Islanders urged their "lively experiment that a most flourishing civil state may stand and best be maintained with a full liberty of religious concernments." Time and maturing wisdom had taught Roger Williams to practise what he preached in favor of liberty of conscience. Even the Quakers, whose doctrines he much disliked and opposed, found refuge amongst his people, and so securely, that Rhode Island refused to insist upon the oath of allegiance to the crown, on account of the Quaker scruples to taking oaths of any kind. "The first liberty," wrote Williams, "is of

our spirits, which neither Old nor New England knows the like, nor no part of the world a greater." He died, (1683;) but so directly did his better spirit descend to those coming after him, that with one exception bearing upon Roman Catholics, then excluded from the privileges of all the colonies, the laws of Rhode Island continued to bear and to forbear for generation after generation.

Inter-colonial difficulties.

The relations between one class and another within the colony being such as have been described, it may be inferred how uncertain were the relations between colony and colony. Differences of origin and of situation, enhanced by differences of creed, of policy, and of interest, brought about divisions and hostilities. Nor were these confined to colonies that were far remote from one another in position or in character. On the contrary, the instances to be mentioned are those of quarrels among neighbors; nay, even among allies.

Shawomet and Massachusetts.

Samuel Gorton, a clothier from London, who found no welcome in Boston, Plymouth, or even in the Rhode Island settlements, purchased, in the last-named vicinity, some land from the Indians, and began the little colony of Shawomet. He seems to have been a sort of spiritualist, much given to rhapsody, if not blasphemy, but harmless, disposed to force his views upon none, and ready to fly rather than to fight amidst the warring parties of New England. But when pursued by his old opponents of Massachusetts, on the ground that the land which his colony occupied was theirs by virtue of subsequent negotiations with the Indians, Gorton resolved to make a stand, (1643.) It was in vain. The dozen men whom he had with him could make no effectual defence against the forty who came, with commissioners at their head, from Massachusetts. A few of the Shawomet party escaped; but Gorton, with nine others, was transported as a

captive to Boston. There he was put upon trial, partly for rejecting the dominion, and partly for rejecting the creed of his conquerors. Convicted, of course, he was set to work in irons, most of his companions meeting the same fate. But as they proved troublesome, especially by instilling their doctrines into those around them, they were set free, "no more to come into the colony, upon pain of death," (1644.) Gorton at once repaired to England, where, from the Earl of Warwick, then "governor-in-chief and lord high admiral of all those islands and plantations within the bounds and upon the coasts of America," he obtained a patent for his colony as a part of the Providence Plantations, the name of Shawomet being changed to that of its protector — Warwick, (1647.) Not long after, Massachusetts attempted to get up another onslaught upon the Warwick settlement, but was prevented, (1651.)

United colonies of New England.

Massachusetts was at the head of a confederacy, the story of which will be found to throw much light upon the relations of colony to colony. It had been proposed, at an early date, (1637,) to form a league amongst the New England settlements; but the project fell through, on account of the resistance of Connecticut to the demands of Massachusetts. Circumstances induced Connecticut to give way, some time afterwards, when a confederacy was formed, under the name of "The United Colonies of New England," (1643.) Each colony was to appoint two commissioners, who must be church members, to conduct all matters of administration, to decide upon questions of peace or war, to regulate the demand and surrender of fugitive servants, slaves, or criminals; but all acts of the commissioners required ratification by the people. In case of war, a certain number of troops was to be furnished by the different members of the league. Massachusetts, furnishing a double proportion, obtained the honor

of having the commissioners' annual session held twice as often at Boston as at any other place of meeting. Indeed, Massachusetts was the head and front of the whole confederacy.

Treatment of Rhode Island.

The spirit of the league soon came out. Massachusetts, (then including New Hampshire,) Plymouth, and the two Connecticut colonies, being united, there remained Maine and Rhode Island. Maine was too scantily settled, as well as too remotely situated, to be taken into account; but Rhode Island, begirt by the confederates, had some claims to consideration. At all events, it asked admission to the union. The demand was refused, except on condition that the colony would submit itself as a dependent to Plymouth. One cannot but wonder that, with such a temper, the league refrained from blotting its independent neighbor out of existence.

Disagreements.

Things went by no means smoothly amongst the confederates themselves. At one time, Connecticut imposed a tax on river navigation, which acted adversely to the interests of the town of Springfield, (1647.) Massachusetts, at first remonstrating, soon broke out with an impost upon goods imported from the other three colonies of the league, (1649.) Nor was this repealed until after a grave protest from the commissioners, (1650.) A year or two later, Connecticut desired war to be declared against the Dutch and Indians. Perhaps it was a hasty project; but it found support from Plymouth. Massachusetts, however, refused to enter into it, and by so doing, nearly broke up the confederacy, (1653.) When the confederates agreed, it was often about such measures as those of persecution, to which reference has been made, or those of warfare, to which we shall arrive ere long. In fact, the United Colonies were united chiefly in deeds of violence. In works of justice or of generosity, they generally broke asunder. When

their union came to an end, after a feeble existence of half a century, it was regretted by none.

Dissensions elsewhere.

The New England colonies were not alone in these disturbed relations. New York was long at variance with Connecticut on one side, and with New Jersey on the other. Pennsylvania had her complaints against Virginia; Delaware hers against Pennsylvania. Wherever there was a view from one colony to another, it seemed to open as frequently upon scenes of controversy as upon those of peace.

Penn and Baltimore.

Leaving the colonies themselves, and turning to their proprietors, where they had any, we discover the same disposition to strife. When William Penn obtained the grant of his domain of Pennsylvania, he knew that it encroached upon the claims of the Baltimore family of Maryland. Their title to the territory, as far north as the fortieth degree of latitude, had been infringed upon, but by foreigners — by the Dutch and by the Swedes. It was reserved for a fellow-countryman to appropriate it to himself. Soon after the arrival of Penn in America, he met Lord Baltimore at Newcastle, but without being able to come to any agreement. This did not prevent the Quaker from founding his City of Brotherly Love upon the land claimed by the rival proprietor, (1682.) At another meeting, in the following year, Penn consented to recognize the Baltimore claim, but only on condition that a price should be fixed for a portion bordering upon the Delaware, of which he naturally wished to retain the sovereignty. But as this offer was refused, while another mode of settlement, proposed by Baltimore, was refused in turn by Penn, the two proprietors again separated in anger. When Baltimore renewed his demands, a few months after, Penn threw himself upon the Dutch title, to which he claimed succession through the Duke of York, (1683.) After such a plea

as this, there was no hope of justice from Penn. Appeal was made to England, where sentence was rendered against Baltimore, without being actually executed, (1685.) It was three quarters of a century before the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland was definitely determined.

Relations to the mother country.

The relations of the colonies to the mother country, that is, to England, so far as they depended upon general principles, were brought forward in an earlier part of the chapter. It is time to take them up with reference to the actual course of events.

The crown.

Allegiance to the crown was one of the inborn principles of the English colonist. It extended from him to those who had come from other lands than England. The King of England was the head of the church and the head of the state — the supreme civil and military power, to whom all the magistrates, all the tribunals, all the laws, all the proceedings of the colonies, were subject. Even in the charter governments, the most independent of all, the royal supremacy was universally recognized. At the same time, the exact limits between the sovereignty of the king and the independence of the colony were nowhere defined. In the royal provinces, where the dependence upon the crown was the greatest, the rights of the popular bodies were often most pertinaciously asserted.

Charles II. and Massachusetts.

As striking an exhibition as any other of the relations of the colonies with royalty is to be found in the twenty-five years' controversy between Charles II. and Massachusetts. When the restoration of that monarch occurred, nearly a year was allowed to elapse, after the certain intelligence of the event, without any proclamation of the royal authority in Massachusetts. There was a good deal, in fact, for the colony to do, in order to make the proclamation satisfactory to all concerned. In the

first place, she had to renounce all such theories as John Eliot had propounded in his Christian Commonwealth, concerning the superiority of the Mosaic over the English institutions. In the next place, she had "to reject, as an infringement of right, any parliamentary or royal imposition prejudicial to the country." So that, between her own republicans on the one side, and the monarchists of England on the other, there was some difficulty in steering a course. At length, the king being proclaimed, John Norton and Simon Bradstreet were sent as agents, with letters and instructions half servile and half defiant, to seek the royal presence and obtain a confirmation of the colonial institutions, (1662.) The king confirmed the charter, but added requisitions that were likely to set the whole colony in an uproar. All laws, he said, against the royal authority, must be repealed; the oath of allegiance to the crown must be exacted; the Book of Common Prayer must be tolerated, and the sacraments administered to "all of honest lives;" nay, the freeholders of the colony, if of suitable estate and character, must be admitted as its freemen. Such was the spite of Massachusetts men, in relation to the royal demands, even against their own helpless agents, that the minister Norton sank, it is said, under the general displeasure, (1663.) The arrival of four royal commissioners, in the following year, was followed by a celebration of the church service, and by a law from the assembly, declaring freeholders, on certain conditions, to be freemen, (1664.) The next proceedings of the commissioners resulted in the temporary toleration of churchmen and Quakers, (1665.) It must have seemed as if the very foundations of Massachusetts had been thrown down.

Long years of controversy between the colony and the king ensued. The departure of the commissioners was followed by the almost immediate arrest of the changes

Loss of the Massachusetts and other charters.

which they had introduced. A summons from the king, calling upon the colony to send representatives to answer the charges against it, was disobeyed, (1666.) Yet five years were allowed to elapse before the contumacy of the Massachusetts people was noticed, and then they were virtually passed over as "almost on the brink of renouncing any dependence on the crown," (1671.) Quite a considerable interval succeeded, in which agents after agents upheld the colony against its adversaries in England. Even bribes were resorted to, the Province of Maine and two thousand guineas being offered to the king himself. But it was too late. The royal will was roused; the warrant went forth that the colony must submit, if it would have any charter at all. The magistrates were for yielding; the representatives — that is, the mass of the colonists — were for resisting; and while they clung to their charter, it was declared to be forfeited, (1684.) The king immediately appointed a governor for Massachusetts, Plymouth, Maine, and New Hampshire; but Charles dying, another official was sent out by James II., bearing the title of president of the same colonies, with the addition of the King's Province in Rhode Island, (1685.) The same year, the Rhode Island and Connecticut charters were put in abeyance.

Parliament.

Next to the crown was the Parliament of the mother country. But this was by no means so fully acknowledged in the colonies. "We have not admitted appeals to your authority," says the Massachusetts General Court to Parliament, "being assured they cannot stand with the liberty and power granted us by our charter," (1646,) — a declaration which was followed up by Edward Winslow, then the agent for Massachusetts in England. "If the Parliament of England," he says, "should impose laws upon us, having no burgesses in the

House of Commons nor capable of a summons by reason of the vast distance, we should lose the liberties and freedom of Englishmen indeed." It was on these very grounds that the sway claimed for Parliament was again and again resisted. It was, however, again and again obeyed.

Navigation acts. Parliament asserted its powers at an early day. During the commonwealth, when it ruled supreme over England, it stretched forth its sceptre over America by an act requiring all colonial exports to England to be shipped only in American or English vessels, (1651.) This was extended by Parliament and the crown together, after the restoration of royalty, in a second act, ordering that most of the exports from the colonies should be shipped only to England, or to an English colony, and in American or English vessels, as before, (1660.) Two or three years afterwards, it was enacted that almost all imports into the colonies should be shipped only from England or from an English colony, and in American or English vessels, as by the preceding statutes, (1663.) These were the famous navigation acts, the first assertions of parliamentary authority over the commerce of the colonies. How grievous to these such restrictions were needs not to be dwelt upon.

Duties. They were followed up, at no long interval, by duties upon the export and import of certain "enumerated articles" from one colony to another, (1672.) This was interfering, not only with the trade, but with the very constitution of the colonies. It required a new body of officials in the shape of revenue officers, appointed, of course, by the crown. Royal custom houses were also needed. It was soon proposed to demand an oath from the governors of New England — where trade was busiest, and discontent rifest — that they would enforce the commercial restrictions. But John Leverett, governor of Massachusetts, refused, and the General Court of the same colony soon passed a

resolution "that the acts of navigation are an invasion of the rights and privileges of the subjects of his majesty in this colony, they not being represented in the Parliament," (1676–79.) A notice of the appointment of a collector of the royal customs for New England was torn down in Boston by order of the colonial magistrates, (1680.) But it was in vain, as we shall soon find. Parliament had adopted the principle of regulating the colonial trade, and was not likely to yield to the ebullitions of Boston, or of any other place in the colonies.

Royal governors.

The authority of the mother country, whether royal or parliamentary, was represented by a constantly increasing number of officials in the colonies. Of these none were so prominent as the royal governors, to whom we now arrive in pursuing the account of the colonial relations.

Berkeley in Virginia.

Nowhere did things go worse than in Virginia, of which Sir William Berkeley, a loyal cavalier, had been governor for more than twenty years.* Under his influence, the very assembly of the province became a burden, protracting its sessions and extending its prerogatives, providing a perpetual (so termed) instead of an annual revenue for the royal officials, and appointing county courts to levy certain imposts which were within its own province alone. To these difficulties were added others arising from the hostile bearing of the Indians, with whom the governor was disposed to temporize far more than suited the ardent Virginians, (1676.)

Bacon's rebellion.

All at once, the province rose. One of the council, Nathaniel Bacon, being refused a commission against the Indians, declared that he would take out a commission of his own; at which the governor unseated him

* From 1641 to 1652, and again from 1660.

and declared him a rebel. But he was not the only one to be put down. William Drummond, the first governor of North Carolina, and Richard Lawrence, both men of energy and of culture, came out at Jamestown on Bacon's side. At their demand, supported by other colonists of influence, the assembly by which the governor had been blindly supported was dissolved. Bacon, elected to a new assembly, carried various measures of reform, besides obtaining a commission of commanding officer against the Indians. Again declared a rebel, he called a convention, who promised to stand by him while he proceeded against the foe upon the frontier. But on the governor's taking the field with armed servants and Indians, supported by some English men-of-war, Bacon and his party returned to meet him. Berkeley retreated, Bacon fired Jamestown, and soon after died. The cause which he had staked his all to support soon fell to pieces, and his chief adherents, Drummond amongst them, were hanged. Lawrence disappeared. "That old fool," said the good natured Charles II., on hearing of his governor's revenge, "has hanged more men in that naked colony than I did here for the murder of my father." Berkeley died of shame, it is said, in England. He left Virginia crushed and desolate.

Andros in New England.

New England, consolidated into one province, was given over to Sir Edmund Andros, formerly governor of New York, (1686.) He made his appearance with troops, overthrowing the colonial assemblies, if there were any left to overthrow, declaring the town organizations at an end, prohibiting the printing press, and threatening even the property of the colonists by requiring them to take out new deeds of their estates from him. It was a part of his commission to procure toleration, especially for the church of England. To do this in Boston, he saw fit to seize upon one of the Puritan churches to celebrate

the church service. Resistance was not attempted, and Andros and his council ruled supreme; nor only over New England, but likewise over New York and New Jersey, both of which were attached to his government, (1688.) In fact, he was on the high road to dominion over all the colonies. The charters of the Carolinas and of Maryland — that is, of every other colony which had a charter, save Pennsylvania alone — were menaced, (1686–88.) A waste of despotism seemed to be opening wherever freedom had found a foothold.

Revolution. Just then came the news of the revolution in England, (1689.) It was welcomed by a revolution in America. Boston rose against Andros, deposing him, and declaring Simon Bradstreet governor. The reaction was by no means gentle. The churchmen, whom Andros had favored, and who supported him, sent an address to King William, bewailing the peril to them from the returning "anarchy and confusion of government under which this country hath so long groaned." Rhode Island and Connecticut went farther than Massachusetts, and resumed their treasured charters. New York took up arms under Jacob Leisler and a committee of safety. The other colonies, less sorely oppressed than those of New England and New York, received the news in comparative tranquillity. A party in Maryland rose, but not against oppression so much as for the sake of sedition. The proprietary government fell, as has been told.

But not liberty. It soon appeared, however, that the English revolution was not intended to be interpreted as setting the colonies free. The charter of 1691 proved it in Massachusetts. The execution of Jacob Leisler and his son-in-law, Milbourne, in New York, by orders, however, of the new governor, Colonel Sloughter, rather than by those of the king, was equally conclusive, (1691.)

The appointment of Andros — the same Sir Edmund who had trampled upon both Massachusetts and New York — to the government of Virginia* was a still more stunning demonstration, (1692.)

Fletcher in New York.

A new attempt at colonial consolidation soon occurred. Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, a man of far less character than Andros, was made governor of New York and Pennsylvania, including Delaware; the proprietary government in the latter colonies being then suspended, (1692.) He was also declared commander-in-chief of the Connecticut and the New Jersey militia. Soon after taking possession of New York and Pennsylvania, Fletcher proceeded to Connecticut to take command of the militia. They assembled at his orders; but instead of listening to his commission, the senior officer, Captain Wadsworth, cried, "Beat the drums!" On Fletcher's attempting to persevere, Wadsworth exclaimed, "If I am interrupted again, I'll make the sun shine through you in a moment," (1693.) Thus baffled in his military functions, the governor returned to his civil powers in New York and Pennsylvania. The latter province, after resisting his demands for a grant of money, yielded only on condition that it should be disbursed by the provincial treasurer — a condition which Fletcher would not, and, if obedient to his instructions, could not allow, (1694.) New York itself was restive under his control. A tax for the support of ministers and the erection of churches had led to a debate between the council and the assembly; the council proposing that the governor should nominate the new clergy, but the assembly opposing. "You take it upon you," declared Fletcher to the assembly, "as if you were dictators;" but the assem-

* He proved, however, to be a comparatively good governor there.

bly stood fast, and soon carried their point, "that the vestry and the churchwardens have a power to call their own minister," a dissenter, if so they pleased, although the governor was strong for the church of England, (1695.) It had been proposed by a clergyman of this church to combine New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Rhode Island in a single province, with a bishop, residing at New York, for its civil as well as ecclesiastical head. But this, more naturally even than Governor Fletcher's designs, came to nought. Fletcher himself, falling into disgrace at home, was recalled, leaving his attempts at consolidation an utter failure, (1698.)

General strictness.

The troubles implied in the various colonial relations account for much that has been ascribed to other causes. It has been so common to consider the Puritan severity as a thing apart, that one does not immediately seize upon the fact of the almost universal strictness that prevailed. Virginia, for instance, gave no harbor to Puritanism. Yet the Virginia code thunders against "mercenary attorneys," (1643,) burgesses "disguised with over much drink," (1659,) tippling houses, (1676,) and Sunday travelling, (1692.) Maryland declares with as much solemnity as Massachusetts against profanity, (1642.) Nor were precautions of a different nature neglected. Both Maryland (1642–1715) and New York (1665) make it necessary to procure a passport before traversing or leaving the colonial precincts. It was from a similar impulse that the "handicraftsmen" of Boston petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts to be protected against "strangers from all parts" who were interfering with their trade, not to say their influence in the community, (1677.) All over the colonies, there reigned a spirit of watchfulness, perhaps more grim, but certainly not more resolute, in one place than in another.

It might be increased or diminished by the social or the religious temper of the colonists; the New Englander was likely to be more upon his guard than the Virginian. But the spirit was the common growth of the new country, whose depths were still hid in the wilderness, whose borders were still bristling with the arrow or the steel.

Perils of the frontier.

The perils of the frontier are yet to be described. All around the colonists, there extended a line, or rather a series of lines, one after another, of suspected neighbors or of open foes. The Indian lay in ambush on this side; on that, the European, Swede, Dutchman, Spaniard, or Frenchman, stood in threatening attitude. Nor was the land alone overspread with enemies; the waters swarmed with pirates and with buccaneers; nay, the very air seemed to be filled with ghostly shapes and with appalling sounds. The world of spirits, as the colonists believed, was agitated by the wars amongst the races of America.

CHAPTER IV.

Indian Wars.

Spirit of the Indians.

It is not always that justice is done to the spirit of the Indians. They are pitied when they are not vilified. Yet there are few passages in human history more indicative of native nobleness in man than those which bring before us the trustful and the generous dealings of the red men with the early adventurers to their shores. "Welcome, Englishmen," cried the sagamore Samoset to the Plymouth settlers, in words caught from English fishermen. The greater sachem Massasoit pledged his friendship to the same colony by a formal treaty, (1621.) When the tribe of Powhatan complained of the strangers in Virginia, their chief replied, "They do but take a little waste land." Even when the anger of Powhatan was kindled, and so strongly as to lead him to plan the destruction of the English, beginning with their leader, John Smith, whom he had taken captive, there was still the maiden Pocahontas to plead for mercy and for peace, (1607.)

Spirit of the English.

The spirit of the English was generally very different. Their wrath was ever easy to be inflamed, ever difficult to be quenched. To most of them the natives were outcasts, "of the cursed race of Ham," fit to be deluded, insnared, enslaved, or exterminated. But this was not the spirit of all. There were some to be touched by the original confidence of the Indians, some to repay it by trust and by charity. "Concerning the killing

of those poor Indians," wrote John Robinson, the Puritan minister, from Holland to his brethren at Plymouth, in relation to the slaughter of several natives suspected of conspiring against that settlement — "O, how happy a thing had it been, if you had converted some, before you had killed any. Besides, where blood is once begun to be shed, it is seldom stanched of a long time after. . . . It is also a thing more glorious in men's eyes than pleasing in God's, or convenient for Christians, to be a terror to poor barbarous people," (1623.)

Missionary labors.

It was the idea of King James of England, in issuing the patent of Virginia, to civilize and convert the natives of the country which he was giving to his companies. The London Company, accordingly, in conjunction with individuals both in England and in America, made some exertion to carry out the royal design. A school for natives was planned, as has been mentioned, but without being established. The colony of Plymouth, listening to Robinson's appeal, recognized the possibility of brotherhood with the Indians. Laws were formally enacted to provide for the conversion of the natives to the Christian faith, (1636.) Elsewhere, likewise, the same views found advocates; and more than one colonist became the friend, the teacher, nay, the martyr to the Indians.

The Mayhews and Eliot.

Obtaining an English grant of Martha's Vineyard, and then confirming his title by purchase from the natives, Thomas Mayhew began almost immediately to teach those who remained with him upon the island, (1643.) A more active missionary, however, was his son Thomas, who, after ten years' exertions, perished on a voyage to England, whither he was going for aid to his mission, (1657.) His father, and afterwards his son, continued the work to which he had sacrificed himself. Meanwhile John Eliot had begun his labors on the Massa-

chusetts mainland. Preparing himself by the study of the Indian tongue, of which he afterwards composed a grammar, he met a party of Indians, for the first time as their preacher, at Nonantum. "Upon October 28, 1646," he writes with touching simplicity, "four of us (having sought God) went unto the Indians inhabiting our bounds, with desire to make known the things of their peace to them." Thenceforward Eliot went on founding and rearing Indian churches, now travelling from the Merrimac to Cape Cod, and now laboring at the translation of the Catechism, and even of the Bible, into the language of his converts, (1661–63.)

Supports. Both Eliot and the Mayhews, as well as other missionaries to the Indians, received their chief encouragement from a Society "for Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England," incorporated by act of Parliament, (1649.) Large collections aided the labors and provided for the expenses of those who engaged in the holy enterprise. "Right honorable nursing fathers," is the address which Eliot uses in giving the society an account of his labors. He writes to Robert Boyle, apparently the life and soul of the society, as his "right honorable, right charitable, and indefatigable nursing father." New England itself did comparatively little. Massachusetts granted lands to the converted Indians, but without much sympathy with them or with their teachers. The work, as a colonial one, languished.

Results. The results were therefore inconsiderable. What the Indians, or many of them, thought of the missions may be gathered from the answer of a Narraganset sachem to the missionary Mayhew applying for permission to preach among the tribe. "Go make the English good first." What many of the English thought of the missions may be gathered from the declaration of Daniel Gookin,

superintendent of the converts, — "a pillar," says Eliot, "in our Indian work," — that he was "afraid to be seen in the streets," at the time of much ill will against the natives. Thirty years after the missionary enterprise began, there were nominally upwards of three thousand converts, (1673.) But the first church which Eliot founded — that at Natick — was, a few years subsequent to his death, but "a small church of seven men and three women; their pastor, Daniel Tohkohwampait," (1698.) Even before Eliot departed, he had seen his work declining. Endeavoring to get out a new edition of his version of the Scriptures, he wrote, "I am deep in years, and sundry say, if I do not procure it printed while I live, it is not within the prospect of human reason whether ever, or when, or how it may be accomplished." Things must have been low indeed, when the mere reprint of the Bible was so difficult. But "his charity," to use Eliot's death-bed words, "held out still," and all that he could do was done when he died, (1690.)

Wars in Virginia and Maryland.

The wars with the Indians were more effective. Earliest of these was the war of Opechancanough, Powhatan's successor, against the colony of Virginia. Provoked by the murder of one of their warriors, the Indians suddenly fell upon the English settlements, which, it seems, they would have utterly annihilated, but for the warning given by a converted countryman of theirs to a Jamestown settler, (1622.) Hostilities, continued at intervals for many years, were revived by a second surprise of the colony by the Indians, (1642.) Opechancanough being taken prisoner and slain, his confederates made peace, giving up all the land between the York and James Rivers, (1646.) In this latter war, Maryland had been involved. Thirty years later, the two colonies were again united in repelling the Susquehannas, with some other tribes, (1675–77.)

Pequot war. Meanwhile, more dangerous conflicts had arisen in New England. The first actual war with the Indians there occurred in consequence of some murders by the Pequots and the Narragansets; the latter tribe extending along the western shore of Narraganset Bay, the former stretching from the Thames to the Connecticut Rivers. The Narraganset chief, Canonicus, making amends for his followers, the expedition which Massachusetts equipped to avenge the murdered was directed chiefly against the Pequots, with the result, however, of exciting rather than punishing them, (1636.) They were on the point of persuading the Narragansets to make common cause with them, when Roger Williams, at the peril of his life, sought the wigwam of Canonicus, in order to avert an alliance which would have threatened Massachusetts, not to say New England, with desolation. It was the return which the exile made for the persecution from which he had but just escaped. Instead of joining the Pequots, the Narragansets sent their young sachem Miantonimoh to make friends with the people at Boston. At about the same time, the alliance of the Mohegans, a tribe of Northern Connecticut, under Uncas, was secured by the Connecticut colonists. As the spring opened, the colonial forces, amounting in all to little more than one hundred, with two or three hundred Indian allies, took the field, and in four months swept the unhappy Pequots from the face of the earth. Nearly a thousand of them were slain; the rest, whether men or women, old or young, being reduced to captivity and slavery. Their territory was divided between Massachusetts and Connecticut, (1637.)

Narragansets. Notwithstanding the alliance with Miantonimoh and the Narragansets, they were soon treated as foes. Defeated by the Mohegans, with whom they went to war, the Narragansets saw their chieftain a prisoner. He

was saved by the interposition of his friend Gorton, the founder of Warwick, only to be given up again by the commissioners of the United Colonies to the Mohegan Uncas, by whom he was immediately despatched. To shield Uncas from the revenge of the Narragansets, the colonies furnished him with a body guard, and even took up arms, when Pessacus, the brother and successor of Miantonimoh, began war against his Mohegan enemies. Nor did Pessacus avert the storm thus conjured up, but by submitting to make amends to both the Mohegans and the United Colonies, (1645.) The tribute which he then consented to pay was afterwards wrenched from him by violence, (1650.)

King Philip. A quarter of a century later, and the ill-treated tribe of Miantonimoh and Pessacus were drawn into the great war that goes by the name of King Philip's. He was Pometacum, the nephew and successor of Massasoit, with whom the Plymouth colonists had made an early treaty, the chief of the Pokanokets or Wampanoags, a tribe on the eastern shore of Narraganset Bay. Suspected and assailed by the people of Plymouth, whose authorities claimed jurisdiction over him, Philip (to call him by his familiar name) was at length accused of hatching a general conspiracy amongst the Indians. The accuser, a native of bad character, although professedly converted, was slain by some of Philip's men, three of whom were presently hanged, without any actual proof of their being the murderers, by orders of the court at Plymouth. Philip wept, it is said, at the idea of warfare with the English. But he could not keep peace with them; and so began a war, by far the most deadly of all between the English and the Indians, (1675.)

Driven almost immediately from his domains about Mount Hope, and soon afterwards from his retreats in

War throughout New England.

the Rhode Island swamps, Philip led his few warriors into the heart of Massachusetts, where the Indians had already risen in arms. Thence the circle of hostilities spread on all sides, to the tribes of the Connecticut valley in the west, to those of the Merrimac valley in the east, and farther still, to the Abenakis of Maine — the latter, however, being engaged in warfare of their own, unconnected with Philip and his allies. Against these was arrayed the whole of New England. Rhode Island, it is true, rather suffered than fought; nor were Maine and New Hampshire, then the dependencies of Massachusetts, able to take any active part. But the United Colonies were all in arms. A few hundred combatants were the most that could be mustered in any single battle; yet the strife was more than proportioned to the numbers or the resources on either side. Month after month witnessed scenes of ambush, assault, devastation, and butchery. The work of blood was as savagely done by the English as by the Indians.

Destruction of the Narragansets.

As winter drew nigh, the suspicions of the colonies were excited by Uncas, the Mohegan, against his old foes, the Narragansets. They had given pledges of peace at the beginning of the war; nor were there now any signs of hostility on their part, except the shelter which they were charged with giving to the broken Pokanokets. But the commissioners of the United Colonies, the successors of those who had given up Miantonimoh and humbled Pessacus, declared war against the Narragansets and their chief, Canonchet. It took but a few days to overrun the Narraganset territory, and to defeat the tribe in a fearful fight which cost the colonial forces dear. Driven from their forests and their fastnesses, the Narragansets spread over the adjoining lands, and even as far as within eighteen miles of Boston. "We will die to

the last man," exclaimed Canonchet, when taken in the spring, "but not be slaves to the Englishman." He was slain, and his nation laid low forever.

Of Philip. The fall of the Narragansets was accompanied by that of the tribes within the limits of Massachusetts. Most of the survivors turned their backs upon their ancient hunting grounds in search of freedom in the north and west. Philip, who had mourned over the beginning of the war, was too strong in heart to outlive its close. He sought the home of his fathers, and there, after losing his wife, his child, and most of his few remaining warriors, he was shot by a renegade Pokanoket. His boy, the last of his line, was sold into slavery in Bermuda. His race was given over to the executioner and the slave dealer; his territory went to Plymouth, and, half a century afterwards, to Rhode Island. But it was no bloodless victory that the colonies had won. "The towns are so drained of men," wrote Leverett, governor of Massachusetts, in the thick of the contest, "we are not able to send out any more." Six hundred of the best colonists had perished; ten times that number, and more, had suffered from the losses and the agonies which befall even the survivors of a war. Six hundred dwellings were burned; many a town was partially, many a one totally destroyed. The mere expenses of the war amounted to something enormous in comparison with the actual means of the colonies. It is pleasant to meet with the record of a contribution of five hundred pounds, collected by an elder brother of Increase Mather, a Puritan minister in Dublin. The war had lasted a little more than a year, (1676.)

Peace. There still remained a few Indian war parties to deal with in the Connecticut valley, as well as the Abenaki tribes in Maine. The former were soon driven off; but the latter kept to their arms until peace was literally bought of them by Sir Edmund Andros, the governor.

of New York, to which province, it may be remembered, the eastern part of Maine then belonged, (1678.)

Abenakis in arms.

The Abenakis were soon in arms again. Enlisted on the side of the French in the wars to be related by and by, the eastern tribes repeatedly laid waste the English settlements. A quarter of a century (1689–1713) did not still the passions thus excited. At a time of peace between England and France, the colonists of the former nation attacked the allies, nay, the very missionaries of the latter. Sebastian Rasles, the patriarch of a Norridgewock village on the Kennebec, where he dwelt alone amidst his savage converts, became the object of especial jealousy to the government of Massachusetts. An armed expedition failed in making him captive, (1722.) But a renewed assault was more successful, the venerable priest being slain, his chapel sacked, his village destroyed, (1724.) All the tribes of the east entered into the war. The only ally of Massachusetts was Connecticut; the efforts to obtain support from the Mohawks being answered by the advice that Massachusetts should do justice to her foes, (1722.) Peace was made, after a five years' conflict. It was broken more than once in the later French wars, (1744, 1754.) But the Abenakis submitted at last, (1760.)

Peace in the centre and south.

The central and southern colonies were for many years undisturbed by Indian wars. Treaties with the Five Nations — the more easily made and kept as these tribes were continually at enmity with the French of Canada — protected the frontiers of the colonies of the centre. Those of the south, for some time unassailed, were at length overrun.

War in North Carolina.

North Carolina, after frequent aggressions on the part of her settlers, was swept by the Tuscaroras, (1711.) The aid of South Carolina, with that of her Indian allies, was called in, before peace could be re-

stored, even for a brief period. Soon breaking out again, in consequence of the continued injuries inflicted upon the Indians, the war grew so threatening as to require the interposition of Virginia as well as of South Carolina. The three colonies together forced the Tuscaroras to fly to their kindred, the Five Nations of New York, by whom, as was formerly mentioned, they were received as a sixth tribe of the confederacy, (1713.)

In South Carolina. South Carolina, some time before involved in strife with the Indian allies of the Spaniards in Florida, was presently threatened with a more serious war. The tribes of the south, especially the Yamassees, aggrieved by the treatment which they received from the colonists, dashed upon their plantations, and, with revenge and slaughter, pressed northward towards Charleston. So great was the peril, that the governor armed the slaves of the province, besides obtaining a law from the assembly authorizing the conscription of freemen. These means, backed by the resources of North Carolina and Virginia, averted the ruin that appeared to be approaching. The Yamassees, driven back with their confederates, were forced to seek refuge in Florida, (1715.)

With Cherokees. Nearly half a century elapsed before the Indians took up the hatchet in the south. The Cherokees, invaded first by the forces of the Carolinas and Virginia, and then by the royal troops, at that time carrying on the last French war, retorted with sword and fire, (1759–60.) But the English and the colonial soldiery together proved too much for the Cherokees, who were soon reduced to humiliating terms of peace, (1761.)

With western tribes. Meantime, the western settlements had begun to bear the brunt of Indian warfare. Pennsylvania was attacked, just as the final contest with the French began, (1755,) by the Delawares and Shawanoes,

the former of whom had been infamously driven from their land by the Pennsylvanians, or their proprietors, many years before. Other tribes, joining with these, spread havoc along all the western borders of the colonies, until peace was conquered, (1758.)

Pontiac's war.

The French war over, (1763,) the same tribes, with others of varied name and race, united under the great Ottawa chieftain, Pontiac, in one simultaneous attempt to clear the western country of the English invaders. Such an onslaught, occurring at an earlier period, might have driven the English, not only from the west but from the east. But made against them when they had just prevailed against the hosts of France, the attacks of the Indians, though at first successful, were met and decisively subdued, (1764.) *

Indians in Pennsylvania.

Some sad and strange events, in connection with the war thus closed, must be mentioned, for the sake of the illustration which they offer of the passions so long dividing the English and the Indians. A number of Pennsylvanians, opposed to their own authorities, and excited with suspicion and hatred against all of Indian blood, made such demonstrations against the Indian converts of the Moravian missionaries, for some time at work in Pennsylvania, that the assembly ordered the Indians to be removed to Philadelphia. Hardly was this done, when the settlers of Paxton, a frontier town, put to death a handful of Indians lingering at Conestoga, pursuing and slaying some who, for safety's sake, had been lodged in the Lancaster jail. A force of from five to fifteen hundred borderers then set out on a march against Philadelphia, where they intended to seize the Indians transported thither, if not to make themselves masters of the city and the province altogether.

* The extreme western tribes remained in arms till 1765.

They were not without their sympathizers in Philadelphia; but those who were prepared to resist them took so determined a course as to avert the dangers of the insurrection. The show of force in the city persuaded the borderers to retire, (1763–64.)

Other wars, but the issue decided.

The tomahawk was not yet buried in the west or in the south. Year after year some party or some tribe of Indians broke loose upon the frontiers. But the question had long been decided as to the hands into which victory was to fall. The scattered tribes, ill provided with arms or stores, with discipline or skill, had fallen away, from the first, before the concentrated numbers and accumulated resources of the colonists. Whatever individual bravery could do, whatever the undying independence of any single tribe could achieve, was all in vain, before the resistless advance of the English. Nay, not of the English alone, but of the Indians themselves, allied with the conquerors of their countrymen. But for such as joined the stranger, the conquest would have been slower, although none the less sure.

Later missions.

The Indian wars form by no means a bright chapter in our history. But, as we found something to light up the early, so we find something to light up the later relations of the Indians and the English. The missions, begun by the Mayhews and by Eliot, had never been abandoned in Massachusetts. As time passed, and the native race grew thinner upon its former soil, new stations were taken, to reach the remoter tribes. A mission at Stockbridge, at first in the charge of John Sergeant, afterwards obtained no less a superintendent than Jonathan Edwards, (1737–50.) A more radiant name is that of David Brainerd, of Connecticut, who, after laboring between Stockbridge and Albany, turned southwards to Pennsylvania and New Jersey, (1744.) The exertions of a few years so enfeebled

him that he returned to the Connecticut valley only to die, (1747.) His place was taken in Pennsylvania by Moravian missionaries, (1748,) whose labors, protracted to a much later period, came to such sad results as have just been described. The missionary would convert the Indians; the colonist would hunt them to death. Alas, that so little was wrought by the friend and the teacher, in comparison with the vast achievements of the foe and the destroyer!

CHAPTER V.

Dutch Wars.

Wars with Indians.

Returning to trace the fortunes of the Dutch settlement of New Netherland, we immediately find it, like its English neighbors, at war with the Indians, whom we may call Manhattans of the Algonquin race. Vexed by the traders, oppressed by the officials of the colony, the Manhattans had provocation enough to take up arms at an early period. But the vicinity of their dreaded foes, the Mohawks of the Five Nations, who were disposed to be friends with the Dutch, kept them at peace until peace was impossible. The incursions of the Indians into the Dutch settlements, and the horrid massacres inflicted by the Dutch in return, were of the same nature as the hostilities already described, (1640–43.) A temporary truce was instantly broken by a general war, spreading from the main land to the islands, and devastating almost the whole of the colony. But for a company of English settlers, just fresh from encounters with the Indians, it would have gone hard with New Netherland. As it was, the exhaustion of the colony was as great as that of its foes, when a treaty terminated the war, (1643–45.) Thrice, however, within the next twenty years, the Indians rose against the still oppressive Dutchmen, (1655, 1658, 1663.)

The increase of New Netherland was arrrested by

Effect upon New Netherland.

these repeated wars. A contemporary document* (1644) dwells upon the favorable prospects of the colony after the fur trade was thrown open, (1638,) as previously mentioned. "At which time," we are told, "the inhabitants there resident not only spread themselves far and wide, but new colonists came thither from fatherland, and the neighboring English, as well from Virginia as from New England, removed under us." The hopes thus inspired are expressly stated to have been blasted by the Indian wars.

Internal restrictions.

Had the wars never occurred, the colony would have had no rapid progress. In itself it was divided by what may be called castes. The patroons, for instance, were an order by themselves, not necessarily hostile to the authorities or unfriendly to the colonists, yet often proving to be one or both. Then the colony lay at the mercy of the company and its director, whose supremacy was shared by none but a few officials and councillors. The attempts at representation on the part of the more substantial colonists, were of no avail. Boards of twelve, eight, and nine men were successively established, with the director's consent, but without any power to restrain him or to elevate themselves. It was at length resolved by the nine men to draw up a statement of their grievances to be laid before the government of the mother country. But the member charged with preparing the document, Adrian Van der Donck, was robbed of his papers, thrown into prison, and expelled from the board of the nine men as well as from the director's council, in which he had a seat, (1649.) Liberated from his imprisonment, Van der Donck set sail for Holland, with other representatives of the cause for which he had suffered. His exertions there brought about

* In O'Callaghan's History of New Netherland, Appendix E.

a provincial order from the States General, by which the West India Company was directed to make some concessions to the colony, (1650.) Two years elapse, and we find Van der Donck still appealing to the States General for justice, (1652.) The most that he procured was a municipal government for the city (as it was styled) of New Amsterdam, the first city of the United States. It was organized in the following year, (1653,) with sheriff, burgomasters, and judges, but all appointed by the director, Peter Stuyvesant, who had carried on for several years a downright war in defence of his prerogatives. In resentment against him personally much of the vigor belonging to the liberal party had been expended. He carried the day, it must be confessed, notwithstanding the city charter, notwithstanding also the remonstrances of a convention of eight towns held the same year.

Religious persecution.

The measure of arbitrary government was not yet full. At the instance of two clergymen of the Dutch church, a proclamation from the director appeared, threatening fines upon all preachers and hearers of unlicensed congregations, (1656.) The first to suffer were Lutherans, who were not merely fined, but imprisoned; then some Baptists, who were not merely fined, but banished. Soon after, a few Quakers fell into the hands of the persecutors, one of them being subjected to tortures as horrid as any inflicted in the English colonies, (1657.) A few years afterwards, the remonstrance of a Quaker, John Bowne, who had been transported to Holland as a criminal, brought upon Director Stuyvesant the censure of the company for his oppression, (1662–63.)

Subjection of New Sweden.

Despite all these drawbacks upon its strength, New Netherland was strong enough, with help from the company, to subdue its neighbor of New Sweden. That colony, though reënforced at times, con-

tinued in a precarious state, with few settlers and uncertain resources. Protested against by the Dutch as interloping within their territory, it had nevertheless invited Dutch emigrants amongst its own settlers, (1640.) But the New Netherland authorities were on the alert. Partly in opposition to a Connecticut settlement attempted on the Delaware, but chiefly in resistance to the advances of the Swedes, Stuyvesant built his Fort Casimir at the present Newcastle, (1651.) A new governor, Rysingh, coming to the Swedish colony, got possession of the fort without difficulty, (1654.) It cost him dear; for Stuyvesant, with a force of several hundred, principally sent from Holland for the purpose, not only recovered Fort Casimir, but conquered Fort Christina and the whole of New Sweden, (1655.) A few Swedes swore allegiance to the Dutch; the rest went home or emigrated to the English colonies. The Swedish government protested against the conquest of its colony; but it had too much upon its hands in Europe to recover its possessions in America. So New Sweden came to an end; and the dream of the generous Gustavus Adolphus that he was to found a place of refuge from persecution and from corruption vanished forever.

New Amstel. The victorious West India Company hardly knew what to do with its conquest. It found a purchaser, however, in the city of Amsterdam, which became the mistress of what had been New Sweden, — portions of our Delaware and Pennsylvania, — under the name of New Amstel, (1656.) This was enlarged by a subsequent purchase so as to embrace the Dutch possessions on both banks of the Delaware; in other words, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, (1663.)

English aggressions. But the dominions of the Dutch, whether West India Company or Amsterdam city, were passing into other hands. The claims of England to the

territory had been asserted, as mentioned in a former chapter, from a very early period. They lost nothing, it may be believed, of their force, as colonies multiplied and lands were in continually increasing demand. An old grant from the Council for New England * was made to cover Long Island. Connecticut and Massachusetts pushed on towards the Hudson. On the south, parties from Connecticut and from Maryland threatened the domains upon the Delaware, (1639–63.) Year after year, during a quarter of a century, brought some fresh invasion of the English, exciting some fresh remonstrance from the Dutch. "Those of Hartford," runs one of the Dutch records, "have not only usurped and taken in the lands of Connecticut, but have also beaten the servants of their high mightinesses the honored company with sticks and plough staves, laming them," (1640.) It is the tone of all the records, querulous and feeble, the wail of a colony never numbering more than ten thousand against its far more numerous neighbors. Nor were its neighbors its only foes. Amongst its own people was a large number of Englishmen, emigrants from hostile colonies, who naturally became hostile settlers. At one time, some English villages of Long Island proclaimed "the commonwealth of England and his highness the lord protector," (1655.) At another, the towns at the west end of the island proclaimed the English king, (1663.) Finally, the danger was so great that Peter Stuyvesant, the foe of all liberal institutions, called a convention of his province. It appears how far the English had pushed their aggressions on scanning the meagre list of the towns or settlements that were represented. New Amsterdam and Rensselaerswyck head the roll of twelve. The convention favored peace with the Indians; as for the English, why, the English in New Netherland alone were "six to one," (1664.)

* To the Earl of Stirling, (1635.)

War; loss of the province.

Long as the dissensions between the English and the Dutch had lasted, neither the colonies nor the mother countries had gone to war about them. A war of two years (1652–54) between the Dutch and the English under Cromwell did not involve their American settlements. When England came under Charles II., another war with Holland was resolved upon, partly from commercial and partly from political motives, the chief of the latter being the intimate connection at that time between the Dutch and the French. Before war was formally declared, New Netherland was surprised by an English fleet. It did not come as a national, but as an individual expedition. Charles II. had made a grant, as has been narrated, of New Netherland to the Duke of York and Albany. It had been the work of a few months only for the duke to buy up other English claims, and collect commissioners and troops to take possession of his new realms. Accompanied by John Winthrop, governor of Connecticut, who, though amiable and disinterested in most respects, was full of determination against the Dutch, the commissioners, headed by Colonel Nichols, obtained possession of the province without battle. The terms of the surrender promised to the conquered their religion, their law of inheritance, and their trade and intercourse with Holland, (1664.) The transaction, at first professedly discountenanced by England, was afterwards sustained by her, and finally submitted to by Holland in the treaty of Breda, (1667.)

Recovery and final loss.

On the outbreak of fresh hostilities between the same countries, a few years later, (1672,) New York, as New Amsterdam was now called, received the summons to capitulate to a Dutch squadron, (1673.) It did so, and was held by the Dutch for upwards of a year, when it was once more, and for the last time, surrendered by them, (1674.) Thus were the Dutch, and with them the Swedes, brought beneath the English dominion.

CHAPTER VI.

Spanish Wars.

Spanish race.

There were other races, rivals of the English, less easily to be reduced than the Dutch or the Swedes. One upon the southern border bore the flag of Spain, rent and dim indeed, but still the flag of a great nation.

Its colony.

Yet the colony of the Spaniards was far from being a great one. St. Augustine, eldest of the permanent settlements upon United States soil, was amongst the least active of them all. Half garrison, half mission in its character, it formed a post where a few troops and a few priests kept up the Spanish claim upon Florida. A century after its foundation, it was nearly annihilated by one of the buccaneering expeditions that were wont to ravage the American coast. It rallied, however, especially when a treaty between Spain and England put a stop to the English commissions with which the buccaneers of the time were generally provided, (1670.)

Collisions with the English.

But there was no good will to speak of between Spain and England, or amongst their colonies. A force from Florida was soon marching against the newly-organized Carolina, a more flagrant incursion, in Spanish eyes, upon the territory still claimed by Spain, than any of the northern colonies had made. The expedition was met and turned back by the resolute Carolinians, (1672.) Some years after, another invasion of the Span-

iards effected the destruction of a Scotch settlement just made near the Spanish border, (1686.) These were not wars so much as the chastisements inflicted or attempted by Florida against its English trespassers.

Effect on the colony.

If there was any effect, it was not to dislodge the intruders, but rather to stimulate the intruded upon. Florida took a fresh start. St. Augustine awoke from its slumber, brushed up its means of offence and defence, and assumed a new attitude. The surrounding country, still in the hands of the Indians, was dotted over with forts and chapels, with soldiers and missionaries. On the other side of the peninsula, upon the Gulf of Mexico, Pensacola was reared with fortress and dwellings, (1696.) It seemed as if Spain was at last to occupy our soil with a colony worthy of bearing her great name.

War. Attacks on St. Augustine and Charleston.

Presently war broke out between England with various allies on one side, and on the other Spain and France, (1702.) It was but just heard of in South Carolina, when Governor Moore obtained the consent of the assembly to an attack upon St. Augustine. With twelve hundred men, half of them Indians, Moore was able to take the town, but not the fort, from which he precipitately retreated on the arrival of some Spanish men-of-war from Havana, (1702.) Poorly as his expedition turned out, Moore, no longer governor, headed a second, composed almost entirely of Indians, with whom he made a foray amongst the missionary villages of Northern Florida without any effective results, (1705.) The next year, a naval attack by both French and Spaniards upon Charleston was beaten off with great loss, three hundred out of eight hundred assailants being killed or captured, (1706.) This was the last event of the war, so far as the colonies were concerned, although peace was not made until seven years later by the treaty of Utrecht, (1713.)

Treaty of Utrecht. This treaty is of moment in United States history. The war, of which it was the conclusion, arose from the attempt of Louis XIV. to seat a prince of his own house upon the Spanish throne; in other words, to combine Spain and France in one vast kingdom. So menacing was the attempt to Europe, that not England alone, but Holland, Germany, both the Empire and Prussia, Portugal and Savoy armed themselves against it. The treaty of Utrecht decided that France and Spain must remain separate. Had they been joined, the English colonies upon our shores would have found it difficult to withstand their united foes.

Second war. Descents on Florida. Five years after, France was on the side of England in a war with Spain, (1718.) It was caused principally by the refusal of Spain to fulfil the Utrecht treaty so far as related to the empire of Germany, with which power France and England, and then Holland, all allied themselves. Afterwards, Spain and the Empire made peace together, while France, England, and Holland formed a league against them, (1725.) Little was done either in Europe or in America. Pensacola was taken and retaken by the French, then in their Louisiana settlements, (1719.) It was soon restored, (1721.) A force of three hundred, partly Indians, made a sally from Carolina upon the Spanish and Indian villages of Florida, (1725.) But the war was without interest or effect, and peace returned with the treaty of Seville, (1729.)

Third war. Georgia and Florida. Then followed the settlement of Georgia, already described as intended to be an outpost against the Spaniards, (1733.) Whatever they thought of this fresh aggression upon their realm, they seem to have said or done nothing for some time; then General Oglethorpe, the head of the Georgian colony, was sum-

moned to evacuate the territory, (1736.) War being declared by England against Spain, chiefly in consequence of Spanish depredations upon English commerce, Oglethorpe received orders to invade Florida, (1739.) He did so, with a force of twelve hundred men from both the Carolinas and Virginia, as well as from his own province, besides an equal number of Indians. With these, and with trains and ships, he laid siege to St. Augustine; but being deserted by most of his Indians, and by many of his volunteers, he was obliged to abandon the enterprise, (1740.) A large expedition from England, reënforced, first and last, by upwards of four thousand colonial troops, was equally unsuccessful against the Spanish strongholds in the West Indies, (1740–41.) But the Spaniards themselves did no better in their invasion of Georgia, from which they were repelled, partly by battle and partly by fraud, Oglethorpe being still there, (1741.) After this, the Spanish war subsided, nor did the French share in the hostilities begin for three years to come, (1744.) Four years later, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored things to their state before the war, (1748.)

Fourth war. Cession of Florida.

Just as the last colonial war with France was ending, the fourth and last colonial war with Spain began. This power came into the contest as the ally of France, in America even more than in Europe, the object being to prevent the English expelling the French from their American possessions, and then turning against the Spaniards, as was apprehended, and expelling them from theirs. But the French were already driven out; and nothing interfered with a vigorous onset of the English upon the Spaniards. New England and New York contributed to the capture of Havana in the opening year of the war, (1762.) The treaty of Paris, begun upon in the same, though not formally completed till the

ing year, restored Havana to Spain. But it gave
mense accession of territory to England and her
es. What France surrendered will appear hereafter.
ceded Florida, once the whole of North America,
ow little more than a peninsula of the southern coast,
3.) A royal proclamation of the same year gave
es and boundaries to East and West Florida, the latter
ince embracing the French cessions east of the Missis-
. Twenty years after, the Floridas reverted to Spain,
e again separated from it at a later period.

To make some amends to Spain for her losses in attempting the rescue of France, the latter kingdom gave up her colony of Louisiana. To this we shall revert. At nearly the same time that the aniards took possession of their acquisition in the east, y extended their settlements in the west by establishing ssions at San Diego and Monterey, California, (1769.)

But the Spanish wars, so far as our country was concerned, were over. They had never arisen, except in the case of the last brief war, from any consideration of American interests. Nor had they alled forth any development of American energies either n crowded battles or extended campaigns. But they had continued, if we date from the first encounters, for nearly a century.

CHAPTER VII.

French Possessions.

French race.

THE great rival of the English race upon this soil reappears. It is time to turn back beyond the Spanish, Dutch, and Indian wars, nay, beyond the growth of the English colonies, to trace the progress of the French in America. No other nation, it will be found, not even the English, asserted claims or projected achievements of equal vastness.

New France.

We left the French the masters of New France — a name of vague extension originally, but subsequently confined, as will be remembered, to Acadie and Canada. Acadie being itself shorn of its original dimensions, the province of Canada remained the chief division of New France.

System of government.

The French, like the English colonies, were not always under the immediate government of the mother country. An intermediate authority, vested in the Company of New France, prevailed for thirty-five years, (1627–62.) For twelve years more, a French West India Company was commissioned to administer the affairs of the colony, (1663–75.) But with these bodies were associated some officers of royal appointment, so that there was no time when the colony was wholly removed from the oversight of the sovereign. Nor was the season during which the two companies lasted by any means so long or so decisive as the periods of the royal government. New

France, like Old France, was essentially a monarchy, and a monarchy in which the monarch was growing out of all proportion to the people. Its institutions were of the past. A governor general, representing the monarch, with an intendant for a prime minister, a council of notables for a nobility, and a host of ecclesiastics, with a bishop at their head, (from 1659,) constituted the authorities of the colony. The ruling class amongst the people was that of the seigneurs, or lords of the manor; their tenants, called habitans, holding land of them by feudal tenure. No press was allowed; no learning of a liberal nature was encouraged. The education of the province was in the hands of the religious orders, whose names and numbers were almost as manifold as in the mother-land. Under these influences, the colony could not but be greatly restricted. The main body of the people were necessarily dependent, unable to act for themselves or for their country, the few alone having the will and the power to urge on the work of colonization and of dominion.

Relations with Indians and English.

Such were the internal drawbacks upon the progress of New France. Of those which we may call external, the chief were the relations of the French with the Indians and the English. Those with the Indians were of two kinds — with the friendly and with the unfriendly tribes. Now it may seem that the amicable intercourse of the French with the large proportion of the natives around them must have been entirely conducive to their prosperity. But it did not prove to be so, on account, principally, of the tendency of the French settlers to sink to the level of their Indian allies, rather than to raise these to themselves. The Frenchman, whether missionary or soldier, explorer or trader, appeared to find a fascination in savage life which he could not resist; and yet it was the vices rather than the virtues of the

Indian character which he admired and imitated. He became indolent, treacherous, morosely cruel, in many instances far more of a savage than any Indian. As to the hostile tribes, it is enough, at the present moment, to name the Five Nations, with whom, as will appear hereafter, the French were at war for a century. As to the English, it must be left to the next chapter to set forth the obstacles which they presented to French advancement. It is sufficient to observe that these hinderances from without, joined to those from within, formed a bristling barricade over which all the ardor and all the discipline of the French character would find it difficult to mount. The stronger must have been the impulses to have extended the limits of New France so far as we shall now find them.

Acadie, including Maine.

The boundaries of Acadie stretched from the northern coasts, through all the east of Maine, as far as the Kennebec, the French asserted; as far as the Penobscot, the English allowed. With the portions of the province in the north we have no further concern than to observe that they included all now called Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Cape Breton, together with indefinite regions beyond. Maine was but feebly held by the French. Missions at the mouth of the Penobscot and on the Kennebec, with a post or two for trade, comprised all that could be called settlements. But for the towns and forts of the neighboring parts of Acadie, the east as well as the west of Maine would have fallen into English hands.

Canada, including New York, Wisconsin, Michigan.

Passing over the cities and fortresses of Central Canada, as foreign to our soil, but not without remembering their importance, let us pursue the Canadian settlements that were made or attempted upon actual United States territory. The first to advance was, as usual, a missionary, Le Moyne, who, with a few associates, labored amongst the Five Na-

tions, then at peace. A colony was founded in Western New York, but only to be abandoned on account of renewed warfare between the French and Indians, (1656–58.) A few years later, Allouez, another missionary, led the way up the lakes, and founded the mission of St. Esprit, on the southern shore of Superior, in the present Wisconsin, (1666.) Two years after, Dablon and Marquette established a mission at Sault Ste. Marie, in the present Michigan, (1668.) Other missions arose in the adjoining forests and on the contiguous shores. After the missionary came the trader, and after the trader generally the soldier; so that to the mission house there were added dwellings, barracks, and, in time, a fort, whose sounding title frequently drowned the peaceful name of the mission. Thus was Canada extended beyond the St. Lawrence and its tributaries, beyond all neighborhood of the English colonies, into the valleys and the wildernesses of the west.

The Mississippi. Illinois.

Still more distant realms were reached. Father Marquette, of the Michigan mission, hearing of a great river towards the setting sun, resolved to find and to explore it. Before he started, his brethren, Allouez and Dablon, penetrated into the interior of Wisconsin and Illinois, (1672.) Marquette, with a few companions, found the Mississippi, as he had been directed by the natives, and sailed upon its waters as far down as Arkansas, (1673.) On his return, he established a new mission near the present Chicago in Illinois.

Louisiana.

The tidings from the Mississippi kindled new plans of trade, new visions of dominion. To begin upon them, there soon appeared a Frenchman, La Salle,—in youth a Jesuit, in manhood a trader and an adventurer of the highest stamp amongst the colonists of New France. Repairing to the French court, he obtained a commission to complete the discovery of the great western river, in consid-

eration of which the monopoly of the fur trade was to be his own, (1677.) He soon engaged in his enterprise; but four years of exertion and of disappointment passed over him, before he descended the Mississippi to its mouth and to the adjacent coasts. It did not matter that the Spaniard De Soto had been the discoverer of the river a century and a half before the French. They hailed themselves possessors of the waters and of the shores, under the name of Louisiana, (1682.)

French dominion.

Thus was New France extended from north to south, and from east to west. While the Swedes and the Dutch had yielded their hold upon our soil, while the Spaniards had contracted theirs to the single corner of Florida, while the English had only their New England, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina, the whole together forming not much more than a broken beach upon the Atlantic, the French dominion stretched from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, over vale, and prairie, and mountain, far round by the western waters, to the Gulf of Mexico. It still needed time, vigor, wisdom, to make this mighty empire a reality as well as a name.

Colony in Texas.

No time was lost in sending La Salle, who had gone to France to tell his adventurous story, with a colony of two hundred, to make a settlement in Louisiana. Missing the mouth of the Mississippi, the party were landed on what is now the Texan shore, near the present Matagorda, where they built a fort with the name of St. Louis, (1685.) But things went hard with them, and when they were reduced to less than a fifth of their original number, La Salle found it time to seek relief in Canada. On his way thither, with half of his surviving comrades, he was foully murdered by one of them, (1687.) The colony of St. Louis soon vanished from the earth.

Twelve years passed before another trial to colonize Louisiana. A twofold attempt was then made, one by the

Colony in Mississippi.

English and one by the French. The old grant of Carolana having been bought up by one of the later New Jersey proprietors, Coxe, he sent, under permission of his sovereign, a small squadron to take possession of the Mississippi. One of the vessels, sailing up the river, was met by a band of Frenchmen, who, by assuring the Englishmen that they were in a part of Canada, and not in Louisiana, prevailed upon them to turn about at a bend still called the English Turn — Détour aux Anglais. So the English retired, and the French held their own. They were a party of two hundred in number, under Lemoine D'Iberville, a Canadian of greater gallantry than prudence, who, intent upon mines and treasures rather than upon the substantial resources of a colony, chose the sands of Biloxi, in what is now Mississippi, for the site of his fort, (1699.) The next year, an expedition in search of mines travelled up the river as far as the Falls of St. Anthony, first visited by some of La Salle's companions twenty years before.

Colony in Alabama.

The mines receded; the sands of Biloxi remained. D'Iberville, returning from France, whither he went twice in quest of supplies, transferred the main body of the settlers to Mobile, in the present Alabama, (1702.) But D'Iberville, who, like La Salle, was the life and the soul of his company, died, (1706,) and left the colony in a very precarious condition. "Nothing," says the French chronicler, "was more feeble." The truth was, that France was at this time too much occupied in Europe, to say nothing of the north of America, to rear a great colony in the wilderness of Louisiana.

Grant to Crozat.

At length the province, extending from the mouth of the Mississippi to Lake Michigan, and from the English Carolina and the Spanish Florida to the New Mexico of Spain, was made over, for the term of fifteen years, to Antoine Crozat, a French merchant prince. He

was to receive a large sum every year from the royal treasury towards the expenses of the colonial government, besides the monopoly of trade to and from the colony. In return, he was to send a certain number of vessels and settlers, year by year, in order to keep up and to increase the colonial settlements, (1712.) A faint flush of vigor seemed to overspread the struggling colony.

Western settlements. Indiana.

Meanwhile the settlements in the north-west had been extended. The missions of Kaskaskia, (about 1695,) and Cahokia, (about 1700,) in our Illinois, and the settlement of Vincennes, in our Indiana, (about 1705,) had confirmed the occupation of that region. A military post was planted at Detroit, the central point in the great arc now formed by the French possessions, (1701.)

Loss of Acadie.

But we have reached a period when the French possessions were beginning to be contracted. The war in the north, to which we must recur, had ended with the surrender, according to the treaty of Utrecht, of Acadie to England, (1713.) What was thus cut off at the end of the line was more than equal, in point of population and of settlement, to all that had been added to the middle or to the lower end.

Forts: Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Nor was there any reaction to compensate for the loss. Canada, it is true, roused herself, building forts upon New York territory, at Niagara, (1726,) and Crown Point, (1731.) Western Pennsylvania was dotted with fortifications, at the same time that others were raised through the Ohio valley, (1753.) But the most to be gained by these posts was a communication with the valley of the Mississippi and with Louisiana, where there was little to make the communication of any sensible importance.

Louisiana, soon resigned by Antoine Crozat, had passed under the control of the Company of the West, otherwise

Mississippi Company: New Orleans.

known as the Mississippi Company, (1717.) During the frenzy of its speculations, both the colony and the mother country were inflated, merely to collapse with disappointment and disaster. Otherwise, the only office rendered by the company to the colony was the establishment of its capital at New Orleans, (1718–23.) The company soon returned the colony upon the royal hands, (1730.)

Missouri: the thirteen of France.

Our narrative ends with the final outbreak of hostilities between the French and the English in America, (1754.) Forty years had passed since the treaty of Utrecht began the rupture of the French possessions; but how much was there still left! Beyond the limits of the United States the domains of the French were far more valuable, within the same limits they were far more extensive, than those of England. Over and above the colonies and posts that have been mentioned, the first essays were made, at the epoch in question, towards the occupation of our Missouri. Counting by the states of a later period, we have thirteen of French * to match with the thirteen of English parentage.

Vastness and weakness.

Enough has been said, however, to explain how easily the French possessions were extended by adventure, and yet how slightly they were either held or developed by actual settlement. The French dominion was as weak as it was vast. It spread over America like a cloud brilliant with the morning sunshine; but, unsubstantial as a cloud, it was swept by the breeze and rent asunder by the storm.

* Three of each division were the same. The French list comprised Maine, New York, and Pennsylvania, with Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Indiana, Ohio, and Missouri.

CHAPTER VIII.

French Wars.

Wars with Indians in the north.

The earliest wars in which the colonies of France engaged were those with the Indians. They were also the longest. From the time when Champlain headed a war party of Algonquins against the Five Nations of New York, (1609,) this great confederacy was at war with the French, some intervals of peace excepted, for more than a century. To describe the descents upon the Canadian settlements, the wild cries and the wilder deeds of battles, the waste and the agony of homes, would be but to repeat our previous sketches of Indian warfare. Not until the treaty of Utrecht restored peace for a time between France and England did the Five Nations, then the allies of the English, bury the tomahawk that had so long gleamed above the heads of the French, (1713.)

In the south.

Later wars with Indians broke out in the south. The Natchez were beaten, (1729–30,) but the Chickasaws could not be subdued, (1736–40.) These conflicts, however, were of moment chiefly to Louisiana. They did not affect the destinies of the French possessions generally.

Strife between the French and the English.

Except the brief contest with the Spaniards of Florida, described in the last chapter but one, the French had no wars to conduct against any European race besides the English in America. This,

it is true, was enough for the French to contend with. Enemies for ages past in Europe, these nations turned to America in rivalry and contention. It was to outvie each other, in a great degree, that they made their settlements; claiming the same lands at the beginning, and extending themselves in the same directions as time went on. The strife between the two great combatants began at an early period, as long ago related, when England, or rather England's colony of Virginia, destroyed the French settlement of St. Sauveur, (1613.) Continued by England herself, (1628–30,) war produced no effect; her conquests, as was mentioned, being surrendered, (1632.)

Indecisive wars.

The wars of the next half century were not a whit more decisive. One, during the English commonwealth, (1652–56,) reduced Acadie for a time beneath the sway of England. Another, after the restoration, (1666–67,) brought about nothing except a proposal to the New England colonies that they should conquer Canada. Peace restored Acadie, as far as the Penobscot, to France, leaving once more no results from the passion and the hostility that had been aroused.

King William's war.

Acts of violence did not cease on either side. An English trader on Lake Huron was seized, as a trespasser, by the French, (1687.) At the other extremity of New France, the governor of New England, Sir Edmund Andros, made an assault upon the trading post of a Frenchman on the Penobscot, (1688.) Each race was determined to hold, and, if possible, to increase its own. A fresh trial of their strength — the fourth in all, but the first in which the colonies of either nation took an active part — began with the war called King William's by the English colonists, (1689.) As far as concerned England, then under William III., the chief cause of the war was the support given by Louis XIV. to the lately

dethroned James II. But Louis had excited in one way or another the greater part of Europe. England was supported by the German Empire, Holland, Spain, and Savoy. From Europe the strife extended to Asia, as well as to America.

Its character and course.

The difference between the contending parties in America soon appeared. On one side was the mother country rather than the colony, the strength of France rather than the weakness of Canada and Acadie. On the other side was the increasing vigor of New England and New York, supported at one time by grants from Maryland and Virginia, and thus presenting an array of colonies, rather than a single mother-land. Both sides were alike in the allies gathered from the forest and the prairie; the Indians of Canada, Acadie, and Maine following the French, while the English were assisted by the forays of the Five Nations along the Canadian lines. Indeed, the war was more of an Indian than of a European one in character. It began with the descents of French and Indian war parties upon Schenectady in New York, Salmon Falls and Casco in New England, (1690.) An expedition from Massachusetts against Acadie, and another, partly from New England and partly from New York, against Canada, were more regular operations, (1690.) The latter scheme was prepared in a convention of delegates from Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New York, held in the last-named colony; and although Canada was not invaded, the plans all failing, the colonies were united, at least for a season, by new bonds. The Massachusetts force, under Sir William Phips, succeeded in ravaging Acadie, and even in seizing the eastern part of Maine, where a fort was presently constructed at Pemaquid, (1692;) but this was retaken in a few years by the French under D'Iberville, (1696,) the same who

appeared in the south at a later time. Peace being made between the French and the Five Nations, — who were really far more formidable enemies than the English, — while the Abenakis of Maine still swept the frontiers of New England, a general invasion of the northern colonies was planned by the French, (1696–97.) But the apprehensions of the English were happily relieved by the treaty of Ryswick between the mother countries, (1697.) The war, though lasting eight years, had produced no sensible effect upon the relative strength of the parties engaged in it, nor had it decided any of the differences that had led to it, or that would lead to fresh strife in the future.

Religious differences.

One of these differences has not yet been brought out as it should be. Between the French and the English there existed the widest and the deepest gulf that ever opens between man and man or between nation and nation. It was the chasm between opposing creeds. Both professed to be Christians; but the French were Catholic, the English Protestant. To the former the latter were heretics, the rightful objects of human enmity as of divine. To the English Protestant, on the contrary, the French Catholic was the minister of a superstition and an oppression as hateful to God as to man. It may be conceived how much these feelings contributed to whet the swords and to blunt the sensibilities of the warriors on either side. Sad, indeed, is the grouping of the two nations upon the American page, staining it with the passions of the old world, the more hateful in the new, because allied with the savage and the heathen.

Queen Anne's war.

No marvel, then, that warfare was soon renewed. Four years after the peace of Ryswick, Queen Anne's war began, on account, as has been related, of the designs of Louis XIV. upon the Spanish crown,

(1702.) In America, the same Indian alliances were formed, the same Indian hostilities were excited, as in the preceding contest, except that the Five Nations did not take up the hatchet against the French until the war was two thirds over, (1709.) There were also the same attacks upon the border settlements; Deerfield (1704) and Haverhill (1708) being both wasted by the French, while the French territory about the Penobscot was scoured by the English, (1704.) But the war, as a whole, was characterized by greater and more decisive operations. Two expeditions were directed from New England against Port Royal; the first laying waste the adjoining country, (1707,) the second capturing the town; the very name of which disappeared in that of Annapolis, (1710.) The first permanent settlement of the French, it was also the first permanent conquest from them by the English. Two expeditions, likewise, were planned by New England, New York, and New Jersey, against Canada; the first being merely planned, (1709,) and the second, though attempted, failing through the inefficiency of the admiral conducting the English force in aid of the enterprise, (1711.) As in the last war, so in this, the northern colonies of England were arrayed against France rather than her colonies. The English colonies of the centre were inactive; those of the south were occupied at this period, as must be remembered, with Spanish and Indian hostilities. Twelve years having passed in warfare, peace was made at Utrecht, and France surrendered Acadie to England, (1713.) The war was the first of the five between the two nations to make any change in their American possessions.

Collision in the west.

New points of collision were appearing in the west. As early as the beginning of the last war, a treaty with members of the Five Nations was made the basis of an English claim to vast territories,

(1701.) To explain the claim on any principles is not very easy. It not only made out the Five Nations to be the masters of the west, far beyond their own borders, but also made out the English king to be the master of the Five Nations. A quarter of a century afterwards, a new treaty with the same tribes actually transferred to the English a portion of the country claimed by them, (1726.) Meanwhile the pretensions of the English to the entire interior, from the coast on which their colonies were planted to the Pacific, had never been abandoned. It was their right, they alleged, to possess the western, if they occupied the eastern shores. To aid the English advance towards the west, a trading post had been established at Oswego. It now became a fort, (1727.) But where it stood, and where its range, so to speak, was meant to extend, the French claimed the sovereignty.

And in the east.

There were also difficulties, both old and new, arising in the east. The war between the English and the Abenakis, in which French missions were assailed, and a French missionary was murdered, threatened fresh hostilities, (1724.) The French, on their side, exasperated, perhaps, by the loss of Acadie, were inclined to infringe upon English rights. Acadie, they argued, was only the peninsula, or what is now called Nova Scotia. But the English replied with reason, that it was not only the peninsula, but the adjoining mainland, and even the surrounding islands. Yet to these the French held fast, especially to Cape Breton, where stood their stronghold of Louisburg, by far more important in their eyes, and in those of their adversaries, than any of the inconsiderable posts upon the territory that had been surrendered.

King George's war.

At length, after a third of a century of nominal peace, war was renewed, (1744.) It was called King George's by the English colonists, from

George II. His interposition in favor of Austria and Sardinia, then combined against France and Spain with other powers, led to a French declaration of war; Spain, as may be recollected, being already at war with England. France was now under Louis XV. The French being at peace with the Five, now the Six Nations, and the Indians within the English limits being much diminished in numbers and in spirits, the European races fought their battles more by themselves. An expedition, proposed by Massachusetts, and supported by men from Connecticut, New Hampshire, and subsequently Rhode Island, as well as by supplies from New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, all under the command of William Pepperell, of Maine, and all accompanied by a fleet from England, accomplished the reduction of Louisburg in less than two months, (1745.) A still more extensive campaign was projected for the following year, when New England, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, with a grant from Pennsylvania, and an armament from England, were to invade Canada; but the English force did not appear, and rumors of a French descent upon New England broke up the colonial ranks, (1746.) France did little of any kind. Her troops at Crown Point made some incursions into Massachusetts and New York, but the meditated invasion of New England was an utter failure. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle closed the war, four years after its outbreak, restoring Cape Breton and Louisburg to France, (1748.)

Blood shed in Nova Scotia.

Peace was soon broken. An attack upon the French at Chignecto, on the Isthmus of Nova Scotia, caused the first blood to be shed, (1750.) Forts rising in various places betokened additional conflicts. It was evident that the troubles in the east were far from being allayed.

Nor was the prospect calmer in the west. At the expi-

The Ohio Company.

ration of the last war, a number of individuals, partly Englishmen and partly colonists, associated as the Ohio Company, obtained a grant of half a million of acres on the eastern bank of the Ohio River, (1749.) Virginia, whose governor was interested in the enterprise, took the lead in the treaties with the Indians and the negotiations with the French required by the plans of the company. But the French were not to be made friends of on that ground. They attacked an Indian settlement where some English traders had found refuge, and seized them as prisoners, (1752.) They then assailed the troops of the Ohio Company. A Virginia party, sent to construct a fort at the head of the Ohio, was driven back by a French force, who completed the fortification, and called it Fort Du Quesne, (1753–54.)

Blood shed in Pennsylvania. George Washington.

A larger band, already on the march from Virginia to the disputed territory, was soon engaged in battle with the French upon Pennsylvanian soil. The first encounter between detachments from both sides resulted in the defeat of the French; but the second, between the main bodies at the Great Meadows, ended in the retreat of the Virginians. They had been bravely led, their leader being George Washington. An envoy of peace to the French before he thus appeared as an officer in war, he was the same in character, if not in experience, that he showed himself to be in after years. He was now but twenty-two.

The final struggle.

It was the final struggle that had thus begun on the shores of Nova Scotia and in the forests of Pennsylvania. The mother countries came into collision in the following year, (1755.) Then the English fleet took some French transports off Newfoundland, and followed up the attack by scouring the seas. The land forces were equally active. One army, partly of colonial and partly

of English troops, marched under General Braddock to defeat near Fort Du Quesne. Another, exclusively colonial, first under General Lyman, and then under Sir William Johnson, with Mohawks in the train, routed the French under Baron Dieskau at Lake George, and built Fort William Henry. But they made no attempt at the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, against which they had originally started on their march. Another colonial force under the English General Shirley, setting out to reduce Fort Niagara, ventured no farther than Oswego. The only expedition to succeed was one that even the victors might afterwards wish to have failed. Not content with forcing the French troops to evacuate their forts on the Isthmus of Nova Scotia, which was done by a force from Massachusetts, aided by a few hundred English soldiers, the conquerors decided to drive the entire population of the territory into exile. Seven thousand miserable creatures, separated from their families, and bereft of their possessions, were thrown upon the charity of the English colonies, where every association, religious and social, national and individual, was against them. Thus opened the war, (1755.) It was formally declared in the spring of the following year, (1756.)

Extent.

Like the last of the Spanish wars, which broke out in connection with this, the last French war sprang from American causes, at least to a great degree. Actual hostilities occurred in America near six years sooner than in Europe. But Europe did not sit looking across the seas. She armed herself for her Seven Years' War, as it was styled. Prussia was on the side of England, Austria on that of France. Russia and Sweden took part against Prussia, rather than for England. After Spain came in on the French side, Portugal declared in favor of the English. Germany was the chief scene of